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The intelligence of voters then and now.

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THE INTELLIGENCE OF VOTERS THEN AND NOW.

Submitted by

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PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

"In a pure Democracy the crowd does the thinking."

Glenn Frank

Chapter I

Present Need of Civic Intelligence.

If we wish to continue to operate as a Democracy, there is ever-increasing need of civic intelligence in our nation. America today has large cities crowded with a cosmopolitan population. Life is economically complex. The development of great industries in the past fifty years has attracted an immigration of people from Southern Europe interested primarily in city life. The previous immigrations came from Northern Europe and were attracted by the free lands in thedevelopment of the West. Those elements on the Atlantic seaboard who were discontented with political restraints or economic conditions moved westward also, ever in search of opportunities for self-expression. Now the free lands are gone; raw resources are becoming less; science and invention have made economic life complex; and economic interdependence is far-reaching and acute. There is a gulf between employer and employee, between producer and consumer, the result of mutual ignorance, misunderstanding, indifference, and hatred.

These vast numbers of alien people have created aserious national problem. They come from repressed countries; and while many of them may be regarded as pioneers who have much to contribute to American life, there are also many who were misfits in their own country--mentally, socially, and economically. Their attempts to express themselves in America result in anti-social influences in the civic and political life that emphasize an ever-increasing need of intelligent cooperation--the urgency of civic intelligence and civic morality.

Early days. David S. Snedden has a hopeful view of the situation; he sees it as a result of early colonial life:

> "We had good citizens in the colonies; in the days of '76. American life in the home, the farm, the shop, together with education in the public schools, private schools, the churches, the press, the stage, and other agencies, has given us a citizenry law-abiding, progressive, and of social good-will towards all the world." 1

In those early days livingwas simple. There were morcface to face contacts. During that thime until about 1850 emphasis was placed on religion, morality, knowledge---with good citizenship the goal. But with the Industrial Revolution came a period of selfish individualism---the "laissez faire" policy predoninating. Ultra-nationalism was almost universal; and we had the World War.

Since the World War people are seeing the folly and the futility of individualism ana nationalism in the exaggerated form; and with the addition of thousands of Southern European immigrants, there has been brought before us the necessity of learning how to live together--a demand for better citizens. The word "citizenship" is recognized as demanding appreciation and understanding of other nationalities, that, instead of hatreds and prejudices there may be cooperation that should lead to more harmonious living, within the national state and also within the world state.

The Sociological Trend.

1. Religious training. That our population may develop into better citizens, there is a great sociological trend toward the religious or moral emphasis, as in the early days. Edward O. Sisson considers that the whole social and political problem

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1 Snedden, David S. Civic Education. Chapter 1. World Book Co. 1922

is one of character education. The increased demand upon character, and the diminished care for the cultivation of character, have created an "emergency" to be met by education.[1] Roger Babson in a talk to business men said, "The fundamental weakness on business is that there is not enough religion in it. Our economic and social ills will lessen with more religion." James Bryce states that when God goes out of the picture a country goes to the dogs.

2. Emotional training. The sociological trend includes a new emphasis---training of the emotions. Mental hygienists are saying that the average human being is an emotional animal; that his behavior today is controlled by his emotions rather than by his head. There is frequent occasion for the saying: "The average human being is a speck of intellect cast about in a sea of emotion." Surely among so many nationalities there should be directed effort to divert hatreds and prejudices into wholesome emotions of appreciation of the worth and culture of the different races, and of understanding of reasons why people behave as they do.

If we are to continue to exist as a Democracy, we must have our emotions under control, that reason may have opportunity to operate. Perhaps in the life of our Democracy there is no occasion which demands to a greater degree the predominance of intelligence and the subordination of emotion than the choice of our great leaders---particularly the election of our Presidents.

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[1] Holmes and Fowler. The Path of Learning. Little Brown Book Co. 1926. The chapter, "An Educational Emergency", by Edward O. Sisson.

The Purpose of This Thesis.

The purpose of this thesis is to indicate whether the voters display more of intelligence or of emotion in choosing their great public leaders, and to compare the situation today with that of the past. Does the political leader appeal to one's common sense? Or does he raise a standard of some kind and lash the emotions of his hearers? Is the political party or the right leader the determining influence in the vote? To promote party interests, does the political leader play upon racial prejudice; national issues; religious preferences; personalities? Are these tendencies as prevalent today as in the times of our early history or even fifty years ago?

Chapter II

The Need for Better Leadership.

The popular leader of today. The question of wise democratic leadership is very serious; it is a question of the survival of the Democracy. This is the opinion of recent writers who believe there is much to be done before men are capable of choosing right leaders, for there is little real leadership by the truly good and wise; also little disposition of voters to follow good leadership when it occurs.

H. R. Carey expresses the need:

> "Fifty years from now the nation will select its most promising members and train them specially for leadership. Today we are governed by the popular rather than the wise. Winds of doctrine, gusts of passion, sway the nation from side to side." [1]

Mr. Carey says that the fine old national leaders are in the universities, and the political leaders now are the demagogue type. Because of the methods employed in selecting and electing leaders, the best type of man is not attracted to great positions of leadershop. While educated men are helpless, mayors and governors are convicted of corruption; and great public questions are discussed in passion and decided on prejudice.

Harry F. Atwood declares that the Repuolic made possiole the selection of the best fitted men as leaders. Under the Articles of Confederation there was chaos; under the Constitution directly following we made such wonderful progress that we gave to the United States "undisputed lead in scientific government pro-

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[1] Carey, H. R. But Not One Cent for Leadership. Independent. June 9, 1928

cedure and won the admiration of the world. Profound knowledge of all early plans of government of which history has record prepared them to take up the arduous civil problem before them."[1] Now, in contrast, we are in an age of "retrogressive tendencies---too much propaganda and noise. We have drifted from the Republic toward Democracy; from the excellent to the inferior in service; from statesmanship towards demagogism."

Thomas V. Smith believes that just so long as men remain indifferent to right leadership and allow their emotional nature to have sway over the intellectual, "they are not wholeheartedly prepared to accept such sheer experimentalism as Democracy demands."[2]

Voters in ancient Greece. The downfall of the American Republic has long been expected. One thousand years ago democratic government, to the Greeks, seemed a dangerous experiment. The majority of the voters followed the leader who promised to do what they wanted rather than the leader intelligent and fearless enough to tell them what the public need required. So the rule of the majority meant the rule of the demagogue. Aristotle believed that "all men are created equal". But equal in liberty---in opportunity did not mean equal in mentality, for he considered that an Aristocracy was necessary in order to temper democratic constitution. Aristotle and Plato declared there was great danger in allowing the less wise and less educated to attempt to choose the more wise and more educated as leaders. Plato believed that only the few could discern the common good. "Follow them

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[1] Atwood, Harry F. Back to the Republic. Chicago: Laird and Lee. 1918

[2] Smith, Thomas V. The Democratic Way of Life. Scientific Monthly. December, 1925

and be happy; desert them and be damned."[1]

The experience of Athens in the Peloponnesian War bore out the belief of the Greek philosophers. At the start Athens had every advantage. She was in many respects the most intelligent commonwealth in Greece; but she was so completely swayed by fickle emotion that she threw away every advantage.

Voters in the days of '76. At the time of the Declaration of Independence Jefferson believed that "all men are created equal", based on Aristotle's assumption. On this slogan our government was founded. Jefferson considered that citizens could be trusted to select their natural "aristoi", the really good and wise. Only ten years later he had misgivings whether an ignorant electorate may be trusted to elect wisely judges learned in the law; for during the Confederation Period there was much social ferment. Mob gatherings in Massachusetts and New Hampshire showed waning respect for constituted authority. This seemed proof of the incapacity of the masses for participation in afairs of the government.

Alexander Hamilton spoke of the masses as turbulent and changing, and believed strongly in government by the "best" people. Gouverneur Morris declared that we should not trust the vote to the ignorant and dependent masses any more than we would to children. Roger Sherman said, "People directly should have as little to do as may be about the government."[2] In 1813, in a letter to John Adams, Jefferson spoke of "a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and the talents."[3]

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[1] Hadley, A. T. Training in Political Intelligence. Yale Review. July, 1928

[2] Schlesinger, Arthur M. Civic Education. The Macmillan Co. 1922. Chapter, "The Decline of Aristocracy in America."

[3] Hadley, A. T. Training in Political Intelligence.

In newly enfranchised democracies. In ancient Athens and in the days of '76 people acted in a manner characteristic of those who have recently come into possession of suffrage---people who have not had generations back of them in the exercise of self-control. In England the people had been invited to vote only when the king wished to have some one elected who would put through an act that meant more income for the crown. It is natural, then, that they had not yearned for the privilege of voting in the early days, even if they had the opportunity. We find they had not.

In colonial days there was very little participation of the masses in the affairs of government. The form of government may be termed an "Aristocracy". There was aristocratic monopoly of social, political, and educational opportunities. The colonial aristocracy meant the "well-born"---the New England clergy, professional classes, wealthy merchants. Seats were distributed at churches, tables, and at Harvard College; and also the places in processions,---all according to one's social status. The right to vote was enjoyed by white adults only, of stated amount of property, and often of certain religious tenets.[1] Other people had very few rights of any kind. The plain people were "simple men", and were in the majority. Below them were the enslaved negroes.

On July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Rights, with its appeal, "all men are created equal", "was the first great official denunciation of aristocratic rule in American History. It was the most eloquent defense of the rights of the masses and of popular rule in the English Language. But the signers had no notion of

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[1] Schlesinger, Arthur M. Civic Education. The Macmillan Co. 1922. Chapter, "The Decline of Aristocracy in America."

setting forth a program of democratic reform. All persons in America were not equal before the law at that time nor for some time to come."[1] One-sixth of the population were negroes, enslaved; another one-sixth, women, inferior politically and legally. While white men had equal civil rights, the great majority were excluded from political and educational participation. Acting on the slogan that they were free and equal, it is not strange that they expressed themselves without restraint or control during the uncertain Confederation Period.

Universal suffrage in a newly formed democracy, with a large number of people untrained in self-control, proved a dangerous experiment in France in 1792; in Russia, since 1919. Good collective government required good training in individual self-government. The vote of the newly enfranchised masses in Europe since the World War proved to be an obstacle to their governments rather than a help. There has been, therefore, a great reaction to the right of vote, resulting in the rise of Aristocracy--the greatest examples of which are Mussolini, Pilsudski, Stalin, Bratianu, and Mustapha Kemal. The question for America is, "given the same acute distressing war problems and industrial situation, might not the indiscriminate voting of the masses result in an invitation to some leader--dictator, to take control?"[2]

More should be expected of us now, after one hundred fifty years of training in self-government.

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[1] Schlesinger, Arthur M. Civic Education.

[2] Hadley, A. T. Training in Political Intelligence. Yale Review. July, 1928

Two Important Factors in Our Training for Self-Government.

1. The development of industrial property right. During the Period of Reconstruction there developed a Plutocracy. People of great wealth had the power to use their money to direct legislation and politics in general, as they desired. While this condition meant corruption and rendered less effective the average man's vote, it was a period of trial and error from which we have evolved into higher ethics in politics. The high type of industrial leader was the product of the frontier; and it is of great significance that in the ever-expanding frontier the common man had his chance. Not only were great fortunes made, but the lessons in self-government--the exercise of forethought, enterprise, in the school of experience were invaluable. Out of the development of the West grew all that is best in our Democracy today. It is recognized that the story of this development is one of the most wonderful chapters in the history of the human race.[1]

2. The practice of the Christian religion is a most important factor throughout the development of self-government. It emphasizes the duty of intelligent conduct as distinct from mere obedience. While Greek philosophers had developed high moral ideals, moral self-government in accordance with these ideals was the privilege of the few.

> "But the Christian religion included the whole body of mankind. Each individual had to think for himself and decide his own conduct--make his own choice between good and evil, and it was his duty to choose the good.
>
> "In carrying out the ideals of the church men have had to exercise that sort of liberty which makes democracy possible; for the Church of Christ was democratic." [2]

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[1] Turner, Frederick J. Significance of the Frontier in American History.

[2] Hadley, A. T. Training in Political Intelligence.

Mr. Hadley emphasizes the necessity of exercising individual judgment that there may be intelligent rather than emotional results.

> "He enjoys a high degree of personal liberty who is not hide-bound by traditions but is encouraged to exercise his intelligence; has opportunity to do things which the majority may consider mistakes; but he learns by experience what is good; is trained by practice in using his brains as a guide to his conduct. This is self-government. It is the kind of government that educates; it makes the individual voters able to take their part in ruling the nation. Any other form of government leaves them a prey to emotion instead of making them capable of intelligent choice for themselves."

While we believe that we compare not unfavorably with England, we must agree with our recent writers that there is still much to be done before we are capable of choosing right leaders.

Thomas V. Smith says we elect leaders according to the old basis, because of their personality rather than any special fitness for office. The old type of leadership is still found in political life of today--the old prestige type--still the aristocratic view. It is "personality" that counts. It has been difficult for men to drop this type for "modern democracy is built on absolutist foundations. Our emotional nature demands omniscience long after our intellectual nature has given it up as a dead illusion."[1] But the new leadership is to be more and more of the "knowledge type".

Aristocracy or Democracy?

As long as we allow emotion to be in the ascendency we choose leaders on the basis of personality--prestige, and lean toward aristocratic form of government. "In a pure

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[1] Smith, Thomas V. The Democratic Way of Life.

democracy the crowd does the thinking."[1] If we would develop into a pure democracy we must exercise our individual judgment and choose leaders on the basis of fitness to serve. We must draw the lesson from our experiences in evolving from an Aristocracy, that "there must be steady advance over all forms and traditions of aristocracy; for in the shortcomings of a Democracy lies the hope of perpetuation of the aristocratic tradition in America.

Two fundamental tendencies in human relationships clash all the time: Oligarchy and Democracy. An Aristocracy means an Oligarchy; "in the interests of the few". A Democracy means "in the interests of the many". To Democracy Professor Dewey applies the word SHARING. Professor Mahoney's definition carries out that idea:

> "Democracy is a blanket term intended to cover all those tendencies in human relationships that make for the elimination of, or compensation for, inequalities, whether caused by nature or by men."

If we would go The Democratic Way, rather than the Oligarchic, the crowd must do the thinking.

Thomas V. Smith's idea of leadership as set forth in "The Democratic Way of Life", represents a fine ideal:

> "Leadership based upon prestige and flowering toward impartiality is the aristocratic ideal. Leadership based upon special knowledge and flowering toward control of facts for human ends is the democratic ideal. The latter means practice in living rather than preparation for life. This ideal breaks up the age-old monopoly of leadership and by so doing distributes far and wide the seeds of individuality. A social order in which every man lives richly his own life, leads his fellows where his knowledge justifies, and follows them where his ignorance compels--that is the way of life which shineth more and more into a democratic way." 2

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[1] Frank, Glenn. The Higher Americanism.

[2] Smith, Thomas V. The Democratic Way of Life.

Remedies for Better Leadership.

Two writers declare that our leaders of today are not comparable with the leaders of the past because as a nation our racial stock is deteriorating and, therefore, unable to produce the right type of leaders. Each author suggests a remedy whereby the quality of the nation may be improved that there may be produced the right type of leader, that he may be recognized from the demagogue, and then elected to high office.

Eugenics. Heber Lensenig[1] declares that the lowest 25% of our people double the rest in birth rate and are, therefore, surely leading us downward. These people have full right of citizenship although they have not enough intelligence to take advantage of their educational opportunities to complete a grammar school course. That means that they are not susceptible to our national cultural influences. He believes that

> "If we wish to continue our civilization, we must remedy this situation; and it can be done only through biological process. Nature is not amenable to religious faith nor lenient to degenerate human beings."

It takes a disciplined person to obey laws; and it takes one with the capacity to learn in order to receive benefit from our national culture. A group is no better than its individual members. The difficulties met in enforcing prohibition show that our democratic system of government is not successful either in training its people to obey the laws of its own making or in using its most trustworthy individuals for the enforcement of its laws. "We stress too much individual freedom without considering innate individual capacity to profit by our opportunity of freedom."

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[1] Lensenig, Heber. Government by the Fittest to Govern. Education. November, 1926

That there may be obedience to our highest moral laws and disinclination to revert under temptation to any low form of conduct, each individual must make constant "preferential use of his best capacities. The group also must make preferential use of its best members. The nation is not doing this to any great extent."

Education. R. Howard Claudius speaks of two levels of intelligence in a nation--the masses and the leaders; and unless the masses support their leaders the average intelligence is lowered and "the source that supplied leaders gradually vanishes."[1]

Racial progress is slow, for "the rate is restricted to that of the stragglers in the rear." A nation has two levels of intelligence. Men of greater initiative, ambition, lead the others on. In this way a nation is born, develops, flourishes. But "always there have been men of opposite trait who were against all change, objected, ridiculed, scorned, reviled, and, given power, slain and tortured, especially if that trait became dominant over the other trait."

Unless these ambitious leaders can be recruited from the masses, the race cannot go on; if it does not go forward, it goes backward. When the majority of the masses does not support its leaders, "the difference between the two levels of intelligence becomes greater and greater." It means that the masses do not feel the necessity for struggle; do not furnish recruits for leaders. Unless the general level of intelligence can be raised, the source that supplied leaders gradually vanishes. As the average

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[1] Claudius, R. Howard. Some of the Conditions for Racial Progress. Education. October 1926.

intelligence of a whole people become lowered there is retrogression of culture. Then is apt to result a catastrophe due to inability to withstand some exceptional blow.

Today men seem listless; inclined not to drive themselves without spur of need. They seem unable to handle power without destroying themselves. The outlook seems serious, as "the blood of leaders of one hundred years ago is diluted." The groups that have furnished leaders are dying out and are being replaced with certain other groups "practically barren of leadership."

Our remedy and problem is to "develop those groups multiplying so fast, in order to take the places of those groups who are displacing leaders--else the whole average level of intelligence is going to recede." Mr. Claudius believes these people are inferior only as members "in lower classes of Nature's school."

> "Preaching better babies to the intelligent, and birth-control to the unintelligent is not the remedy. We must resign ourselves to the encroachment of these people we call inferior. They are inferior in the sense that Freshmen and Sophomores are inferior to Juniors and Seniors--in lower classes of Nature's school. We have no right to belittle their inherent capacity for development; time alone can evaluate that. Anyway, the future of our race is theirs, and we can only do what is within our power to have them worthy of their inheritance. Education must be the remedy. Education is not intelligence, but it develops intelligence."

Conclusion. We see that the different writers on the Need for Better Leadership take a serious view of the situation; they realize that there must be improvement within the nation itself.

Chapter III

Theories of Intelligence.

Immigration Problem.

Has our large American population the intelligence to develop its individual members and to choose wise leaders from the groups that are replacing others?

Since the World War there has been considerable talk about racial superiority. The fear was, and is, that the later immigrants, who have come in large numbers from the Meditteranean and Alpine countries, have not brought with them the foundations of American character found in the earlier arrivals. With the opening of the Mississippi Valley came great numbers of immigrants who were attracted by the free lands. They were mostly Germans, but all of Northern European stock. English was the language of the Union; but in the "crucible of the frontier the immigrants became Americanized, liberated and fused into a mixed race, a people that were English in neither nationality nor characteristics."[1]

With the Industrial Revolution came a great demand for cheap labor--an increasing number of individuals who are content to perform simple mechanical tasks requiring a minimum of intelligence. "As the more intelligent in every civilization tend to die off, our industrial civilization accentuated that tendency."[2]

To fill the needs of industry vast numbers responded from Southern and Southeastern Europe. These people have come from repressed countries. Are they lacking in physical and mental stamina--the characteristics that the earlier arrivals must have brought with them? These later numbers flock to the large cities rather than the open spaces, and constitute a vast problem politically, industrially, and morally. The task of assimilating them--

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1 Turner, Frederick J. The Significance of the American Frontier.

2 Deutsch, Benjamin.

3 Ross, Edward A. Foundations of Sociology.

of converting them to American ideals rather than allowing them to divert us to South European standards, is indeed great.[1] Economic as well as social forces complicate the situation.

Alarm was intensified after the World War, due not only to a new influx of arrivals, but because the world suffered from a "Democracy" complex. There was a great Americanization movement. The emotional tone of our feeling for our country, and against the foreigner, ran high. The "Red hysteria" contributed to this state of mind.[2] The Nordic agitation movement intensified the feeling until we had the National Origins Measure.

The Nordic superiority idea was the result of findings of army psychologists, who applied so-called intelligence tests to the American army, during the World War. These army mental tests gave us an opportunity for a "national inventory"of the mental capacity of all the races living in our midst. "A Study of American Intelligence", by Carl C. Brigham, is of profound significance, as it gives the first really scientific information about the intelligence ratings of different races. Herskovitz remarks:

> "It is not strange, therefore, that the results of the findings should be the cause of persuasive arguments, for the figures are decisive, and require some analysis before the factors of opportunity and differential environmental background become apparent as the decisive ones in making for the results, rather than innate 'intelligence'." 2

Of those examined there were about

81,000 native-born Americans

12,000 foreign-born individuals

23,000 Negroes.

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1 Orebaugh. Shall Southeastern European Immigrants be Excluded. Current History. 1928

2 Herskovitz, Melville J. Race Relations. Am. Journal of Sociology. May, 1929

Brigham lists groups from high to low according to their intelligence ratings. Nordics show superiority over the Alpine groups; the Alpines show superiority over the Mediterranean group.

> "If intelligence counts we naturally expect individuals of superior intelligence to adapt themselves more easily to their environment, and that they will endow their children not only with material goods, but with the ability to adjust themselves to the same or a more complex environment. Individuals who have failed in adjusting themselves to the civilization their own race has built, indicate by their position that they are individuals with an inferior hereditary endowment.
>
> In the same way our educational institutions are a part of our race heritage. The average Negro child cannot advance through an educational curriculum adapted to the Anglo-Saxon child in step with that child."

The theory that certain races have innate intelligence superior to others, does not, at least, make for harmony among the many nationalities here. It has given rise to a great deal of controversy, and there is much to be said on both sides.

Brigham's conclusions are interesting and important:

1) Immigrations of Alpine and Mediterranean races have increased in the last thirty or forty years so that they constitute 70% or 75% of the total immigration. These representatives are intellectually inferior to those of the Nordic race which formerly made up about 50% of our immigration.

2) We are getting progressively lower and lower types with each succeeding period of immigration.

3) There is an increase of Intelligence score with increasing years of residence.

This made a strong appeal for immigrant restriction of others than Nordics. It emphasized the necessity of amalgamation of those already here, to arrest race deterioration, lest they be too great

a menace to our social and political welfare. In the following quotation it can be seen that Herskovitz considers the discrimination unfair and the result of hasty judgment:

> "From a strictly anthropological point of view, any correlation of physical stock with cultural ability is inadmissable. Sooner or later we look with certainty to the proclamation of some form of quota restriction which will favor the Northern Europeans and follow the popular feeling that the East and South European--the so-called 'Alpines' and 'Mediterraneans'--are unfitted to provide the 'racial' basis for our future stock." I

Opposite school. After Brigham's contribution, Professor Bagley, of Teacher's College, attacked the figures and brought out interesting sidelights overlooked by Brigham. Bagley was severely criticised at the time; but today we believe he made an important study. Brigham established "Determinism" in education---"intelligence is born in us and never changes". But according to Bagley's theory we cannot say that races as races are forever superior or inferior; for if illiterate negroes of New York surpass certain whites in the South, then the whites as whites are not superior. All we can say is that given certain educational advantages all races improve as races. At that rate we must through education give each new generation the material that will raise the different races to the highest civilization possible. Education should bring out better attitudes of a group towards other groups; appreciations and understandings.

It behooves us to take these people as they are individually, realizing that there are superior and inferior indivioauals in all races. Even if we at some time find that one race is superior, we will always find gradations in each race.

Herskovitz, Melville J. Race Relations. American Journal of Sociology. May, 1929

Theories of the Two Schools.

Of the two schools on race superiority the first believes there are really racial mental differences; the second believes there is not due evidence. The judgments of the first school are based mostly on prejudice; the second is more scientific.[1] "Racial mental differences, to be really racial, must be differences on account of "innate" tendencies laid down in different kinds of germ plasm. They cannot be due to differences in training and education". According to Garth's theory the elements in a study of racial mental similarities or differences must be these:

1) Two so-called races

2) An equal amount of educational opportunity, which should include social pressure and racial patterns of thought.

3) Psychology tests within the grasp of both racial groups.

A rating to be fair, then, must include other traits besides intelligence;--racial temperament, musical capacity, esthetics, memory powers, fatiguability, and learning. Some of these traits, are, therefore, believed to be inseparable from intelligence.

The following notations of intelligence tests are significant:[1]

Average white man's I.Q. --		100	(Used as a basis)
"	Chinese	98 or 99	
"	Japanese	98	
"	American Negro	75	(Northern better than Southern)
"	Mexican	89	(A smaller group examined)

We are not sure of the average of the American Indian, due to difficulties in language and difference in social status.

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[1] Garth, Thomas R. Race and Psychology. Scientific Monthly. September, 1926

The important thing is that in each group were some individuals with high I.Q.'s. 135 was found in a full-blooded Indian. Also, no race has lower I.Q. than the white race.

From an examination of the following traits are comparisons worthy of note:

Esthetics: Indians preferred red.
Whites " blue.

Education: Induces the Indian to change his natural preference and place blue above red.

Whites suppress all liking for colors except blue.

Mental fatigue: Plains Indian holds out best.

Memory: Negro good at first but loses as he grows older.

Learning: Negro learns less rapidly.

Personality: White man's is best.

Morality: Chinese more honest than Anglo-Saxons or Japs taking same test.

Summary of above measurements: There are significant tendencies which, though roughly measured, tend to be real differences.[1]

In Jamaica there were tested Negroes, Whites, and Hybrids,--all living on about the same social level, and having about the same education. The conclusion was that races differ in innate mental traits, as they really do in physical characteristics.

The same tests were given to all. In certain sense-discrimination tests the full-blooded Negroes showed superiority over the Whites. In ability to retain and reproduce certain figures, they were equal if not superior to the Whites; but in tests involving some organization, foresight, and planning--in common sense and

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[1] Garth, Thomas R. Race and Psychology. Scientific Monthly. September, 1926

logical faculty, Negroes were inferior to the Whites. Moreover, the grades of Browns were strictly intermediate between Negroes and Whites in mental traits as in physical traits. This is important as Blacks and Browns live side by side in rural Jamaica. Differences in social status or training can hardly be responsible for the fact that Browns tend in mental reactions toward Whites.

"We are driven to the conclusion that there is a constitutional, hereditary, genetical basis for the difference between the two races in mental traits; that there are mental differences in mental traits."[1]

Garth believes there is much to be said on both sides of the question. His problem is, "If there are differences, are they transitory or permanent?" In support of the theory that they are only temporary he quotes the following:

> "All people evolve under the influence of external factors; consequently, there are none predestined beforehand to be masters or slaves of others, as there are none who are predestined to an eternal immobility. Virtue and vice in people are only the product of circumstances." [2]

Garth contributes:

> "Races are not necessarily static mentally, but possibly mobile, some rising, some falling, some trying to remain static but finding it difficult". [3] (Like "circles caused on the surface of the water by a falling stone"). [2]
>
> "If we believe that races are mobile, temporary--subject to change according to the environment--able to evolve from the lower end of the scale to the higher; from inferiority to superiority, in racial traits, it behooves any race to look to the eugenics of the situation. . . .[3]

He attributes the principle of eugenics to the reason for the difference between the ancient and the modern Greeks:

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[1] Davenport, C. B. Are there Genetically Based Mental Differences between the Races? Science. December 21, 1928

[2] Finot, Jean . From Garth, Thomas R. Race and Psychology. Scientific Monthly. September, 1926

"The Athenian Greeks were the result of inbreeding of superior individuals from the Mediterranean countries, Grecian as well as otherwise, regardless of race. Now they are the result of outbreeding--all classes whether high or low intellectually participated indiscriminately." 1

Garth:

"By outbreeding a race may scatter inferiority among its future members indiscriminately. But inbreeding, and selection for propagation of those regarded as superior, moves the average up towards relative superiority. This is possible only if a race contains any superior members."

The last statement is significant when we consider the fact that "Spain was at its height when most mongrel"; 2 and the fact that the Kentucky mountaineers are decidedly backward and inferior--the result of isolation and inbreeding.

If there is an increase of the intelligence score with greater number of years of residence, there is hope in the triumph of environment. Our hope in America is in bending every effort through education to develop the intelligence of those now with us, to the end that there may be general improvement in civic intelligence and civic morality. If we consider the eugenicist's point of view--that inbreeding and selection of superior individuals move the average up, we must alter our present system of immigration. "Present immigration selection is defective because based on group characteristics rather than individual characterists." We discriminate against or favor immigration of groups as groups. Eugenicists urge a "more rational test of immigration." America should set a median for admissions and "admit only individuals superior to a median as obvious assets, and exclude the inferior

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1 Galton, Sir Francis. From Garth, Thomas R. Race and Psychology.

2 Boaz, Franz. That Nordic Nonsense. Forum, Nov. 1924

as those who would lower the quality of our stock.[1]

Negro problem. The negro problem is vital. The race as a whole has, during the brief years of emancipation, made a wonderful demonstration of the ability of a primitive people to respond to environment. Many outstanding individuals have shown themselves worthy in both intelligence and purpose. Since 1917, 55% of negroes have entered higher education. The remarkable advance of the northern negroes, in contrast with the southern, show that one group had opportunities and the other had not. It is real educational opportunity that is measured when we realize that northern megroes were superior to southern whites.

Through education the negro must be helped and encouraged to higher development. If one group leaves another in the ditch, both will eventually find themselves in it. We must, according to Henry H. Goddard, prove that we are worth of their confidence by attending to their welfare. He speaks of the duty of leaders of superior intelligence:

> "If those leaders of superior intelligence apply themselves to the practical problem of social welfare and efficiency, those of lower intelligence will invariably and inevitably follow the advice of higher intelligence, so long as they have confidence in the individual having the higher intelligence. This is a law of human nature. The word 'confidence' is the crux of the matter--the root of social troubles--the explanation of everything from local labor troubles to Bolshevism." [2]

The level of intelligence. Goddard believes that every human being reaches at some time a level of intelligence beyond which he never goes. The average intelligence of our population is thirteen years. There are

25,000,000	of average intelligence
45,000,000	of lower than average
30,000,000	of very superior intelligence.

Can this average choose best leaders? The number of low I.Q. is far

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[1] Johnson, Dr. Roswell H. The Use of the Median as a Minimum Requirement for International Migration. Scientific Monthly. Mar. 1925

[2] Goddard, Henry H. Human Efficiency and Levels of Democracy.

greater than is generally appreciated; and this mass of low intelligence is an enormous menace to Democracy, unless recognized and properly treated. The vote of the feeble minded person offsets the vote of one of superior intelligence.

But Democracy in a large mass of relatively low mentality is not impossible "if there is a sufficiently large group of people of high intelligence to control the situation; and further, if this group has the right attitude towards the less intelligent."[1]

> "We will have perfect Democracy only when it is based on absolute knowledge of levels and when the social body is organized on that basis." [1]

The idea back of intelligence testing is democratic but the use is wrong. By finding a child's intellectual level we can see that he works to his full capacity--help him adjust humself in the group. It is necessary to make constant adjustments to get along with a group, especially large groups--state or national. The more intelligent he is, the broader the outlook before him. "It is necessary that he have ability to make those needed social adjustments required by modern conditions with the least possible upset."[2] An important question is, "Does a higher I.Q. always mean that one can make those adjustments with the least possible loss?" We find that it does not. While intelligence is necessary, there is required mental balance--normalcy. It implies right attitudes towards others--understandings.

A law of Physics is that action and reaction are equal. It is the same in social life. The theory of race superiority gives rise to retaliations. "The lesser breed climbs to power and pro-

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[1] Goddard, Henry H. Human Efficiency and Levels of Democracy.

[2] Roberts, Franklin C. Class Lecture.

ceeds to square the account."[1] All revolutions prove that fact. The history of politics is a story of reactions--retaliations. William Bennett Munro says, "The revulsion is directly proportioned to the strength of the preceding swing. The present revolution in Russia will ultimately become a form of government just as highly centralized as that of the Tzars, and perhaps more so. It will be an autocracy disguised by a new nomenclature."[2]

The social philosopher looks to education to find the way out--to develop social intelligence, that individuals may more easily adjust themselves within the social body.

E. L. Thorndike's Conception of Intelligence.

From all these considerations of intelligence in its relation to racial superiority we realize that there are different conceptions of the word "intelligence" and various applications of the term. "Intelligence" is many-sided; there are many intelligencies. E. L. Thorndike's interpretation of intelligence as of three kinds is a generally accepted theory. They are:

Abstract intelligence--

Refers to our ability to think straight with reference to certain abstractions: Mathematics, language, and the philosophical subjects dealing with memory.

Mechanical intelligence

Refers to our ability to use our hands.

Social intelligence

Refers to our ability to get along with people.

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[1] Mahoney, John J. Class lecture.

[2] Munro, William Bennett. Intelligence Tests for Voters. School and Society. December 1, 1928

In regard to this three-sided theory Robert P. Carroll asserts that they overlap and that they all function in our social life:

> "There is much overlapping between these types. Social affairs of various kinds relate themselves to the mechanical, and ultimately to the abstract as well. It is in our social life that abstract ideas function in greatest abundance and to the greatest extent. Some individuals succeed in dealing with mechanical symbols, some with word or language symbols, and some succeed much better in one language than in another." 1

We see that the center of interest is the "social" side of intelligence. Professor Mahoney emphasizes that idea in his definition:

> "Social intelligence is
>
> 1) that intelligence that enables us to understand why people behave as they do;
>
> 2) and further, it enables us to form a judgment as to how people ought to behave in the interests of society as a whole." 2

If we know why people do as they do, we are able to judge them according to understanding and sympathy rather than from prejudice. It requires an intelligent knowledge of peoples to make right judgments. If we are intelligent in our judgment as to how people ought to behave, we know the proper attitude to take towards municipal, state, and national questions that call for right reactions--we can adjust ourselves socially.

Before pursuing the implications of social intelligence let us consider the simple definition of Hines.

Hines: "Intelligence is the 'innate' ability to learn." "Innate" is significant, as it means we are born with a certain degree of power; and do what we will, we cannot develop it much.

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1 Carroll, Robert P. What is Intelligence? School and Society. December, 1928

2 Mahoney, John J. Class lecture.

If our I.Q. is 80 when we are nine years old, it will be 80 through life. In regard to the innate ability to "learn": It implies that we should profit by experiences so that we may react more and more adequately towards future experience.[1] In this suggestion lies the hope that the more opportunities we have to "learn", to experience, the more we may develop into superior individuals, and in this way leave far behing much of the so-called "innate" limitations.

To social philosophers the term "innate" is a decidedly limited side of the word intelligence, for it does not take into consideration those qualities so necessary in social adjustments--qualities that education can do so much toward developing. Marion E. MacDonald, in "Democracy and the I.Q.", does not believe that the innate intelligence is the deciding factor. This author asserts that if we classify according to the I.Q. alone, we have the following invalid assumptions:

1) "Intelligence tests actually measure finely mental potentiality.

2) Mental potentiality is unchangeable.

3) Mental potentiality is the deciding factorregarding one's place in the world."[2]

In the next statement we recognize that to this writer good citizenship requires more important factors:

"The I.Q. is not solely and primarily the deciding factor. Character traits, personality, are the determining factors."

Innate ability plus character traits, personality! Who dares to limit the possibilities of what education may accomplish in the expansion, the training of these determining factors?

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2 MacDonald, Marion E. The I.Q. and Democracy. School and Society. May, 1927

Other Definitions of Intelligence.

It may be interesting to note some definitions of intelligence quoted by Robert P. Carroll, in "What is Intelligence":[1]

Stem:

> Intelligence is a general capacity of an individual to adjust his thinking to new requirements.

Otis:

> Intelligence is brightness.

Colvin:

> An individual possesses intelligence in so far as he can learn to adjust himself to his environment.

Spearman:

> A two-factor theory of intelligence--general and specific. All intellectual activity depends upon the same general fund of mental energy; and ability in a particular kind of performance depends upon specific capacity for that performance.

Freeman:

> Intelligence is a composite of mental ability. Our tests are most successful as measurements of the composite of mental abilities which is sometimes called intelligence.

Hermon:

> Intelligence is intellect plus knowledge.

The true definition of intelligence, according to Mr. Carroll, is contained in the two following quotations:

Peterson:

> Intelligence seems to be a biological mechanism by which the effects of a complexity of stimuli are brought together and given a somewhat unified effect in behavior.

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[1] Carroll, Robert P. What is Intelligence? School and Society. December, 1928

Burt:

> Higher intelligence seems to mean higher capacity for continually systematizing mental behavior by forming new psycho-physical coordinations, older coordinations being retained, so that newer coordinations bring with them increased complexity and incessant change.

All the previous definitions he considers inadequate; but with the above two in mind he offers the following as his conception of the meaning of intelligence:

Carroll:

> "Intelligence is the ability to see things in their various relationships, to think complexly and coordinately in such a way as to produce a composite, or more or less unified reaction."

He explains further--native capacity the determining factor:

> "The degree or amount of one's intelligence is determined by his native capacity or neural complexity. It is inseparable from depth or breadth of comprehension."

John Palmer Gavit makes a reply in the next issue of"School and Society"and offers his own definition:

> "Intelligence is nothing more, nor less, than the totality of awareness of environment, of interplaying activities and reactions, experiences and the memories of them; together with comparisons of and inferences from these, to the extent of which the organism may be capable." 1

Our hope is in the phrase"to the extent of which the organism may be capable". Sociologists have great confidence in the latent qualities of the human mind. This is expressed by Lester P. Ward:

> "In enlightened countries there may be only a completely submerged tenth; also there is only a completely emerged tenth. . If all the means of society--philanthropic and material--were directed to the development of the masses, to bring out the latent qualities of human minds toward the common fund for good, the possible results would be dazzling!" 2

It is training in social intelligence that enables the masses to realize their relation to the group and adjust themselves to it.

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1 Gavit, John Palmer. The Definition of Intelligence. School and Society. February 16, 1929

2 Williams, Joseph T. Education in Recent Sociology. Education. March 1921

Social Intelligence.

If we are socially intelligent:

We know whether we should obey law and order or take a stand for so-called individual freedom. It is one thing to be law-abiding as a fine gesture; it is another thing to make a personal sacrifice in the interests of the social welfare. We should obey the laws we help to make. We recognize no double-standard of justice--one for the rich and one for the poor, if we are law-abiding.

The more socially intelligent we are the more capable leaders we will elect. We will not only exercise our privilege of voting but will make earnest study of the prospective leaders and of the issues they advocate. We will know the leader from the demagogue. We will distinguish between the national and the party interests. We will not be swayed by emotion or prejudice, but by reason.

We will take an interest in voting not only in times of great stress, when our emotions are apt to be at white heat, but in the quiet periods--between elections; for it is during the lull in politics that tricksters, the political bosses, get in their underhand work. The supposedly-intelligent, the educated man will overcome his indifference and take an interest at all times, in spite of any feeling of disgust he may entertain because of the political machinery. As we create an interest in anything we develop intelligence, for intelligence grows from thinking.

It takes social intelligence--sportsmanship, to give the minority a square deal. Progress depends upon a virile minority that acts as a check upon the behavior of the majority. The minority should be allowed to have its say; for it is often

the exceptional one who has a message for his group.

Social intelligence is something innate like any other intelligence; but it has never been developed. We cannot, therefore, know whether we have it or not--that social ability. Whatever we may possess of it, it is latent. As people have different phases of intelligence, why not develop social intelligence?[1]

Of these three intelligencies we know the schools have been interested almost wholly in developing the abstract. The subjects taught have been the abstract. Also, when we test intelligence in the schools we test the abstract, and we are prone to evaluate children from the abstract alone. Mechanical intelligence is rather well determined in the industrial world; but the schools have done very little to develop it or to test it.

There has been very little attention given to the development of social intelligence. The present and future need for knowledge of things economic and social is well recognized. There has been little testing of social intelligence as it is considered too intangible a subject. Intelligence tests place emphasis on facts--intellectual attainments; but they cannot bring out the values of moral nature that are found in the social sciences. Better citizenship calls for the subject matter that brings out more brotherly kindliness in the character of the youth.

Conclusion. The Present Need of Civic Intelligence is ably expressed by Edward O. Sisson in the following quotation previously referred to:

> "The whole political and social problem is one of education; and because of certain lapses, that means character education. The increasing demand upon character, and the diminished care for the cultivation of character, have created an emergency

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[1] Mahoney, John J. Class lecture on Civic Education.

> to be met by education. The problems met in our complex life today call for more and more character and greater intelligence than ever before." 1

That education can successfully meet this "emergency"--can solve the problem whether our American population has the intelligence to develop its individual members and to choose wise leaders from the groups that are replacing others--is the belief of Walter Scott McNutt. In his article, "The Salvage of the Non-Nordic", he leaves with that expectation from his interpretation of Professor Bagley's study of American intelligence. This is his opinion:

> "Professor Bagley's study of American intelligence based upon the army tests demonstrates that the men in the American army were not a class of morons but that they were the product of an educational system and its social environment that had as its median a twelve-year mind." 2

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1 Sisson, Edward O. An Educational Emergency, a chapter in The Path of Learning, by Holmes and Fowler. Little Brown Co.

2 McNutt, Walter Scott. Salvage of the Non-Nordic. Education. February, 1925.

PART II.

A STUDY OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

"Today the mob lurks just under the skin of most of us, both ignorant and educated alike. It is a ripening of the thought processes, considered highly respectable and moral."

Everett Dean Martin

The Development of the Two-Party System.

In 1789 when Congress drew up twelve amendments and sent them to the states, there arose a protest against passing laws. Many people formed an anti-party. They protested against the manner in which Congress paid debts; the salaries of the public officers; taxes. They also protested because men in office were undemocratic in their fondness for dress and show. In 1792 they began to organize for election purposes. They called themselves Republicans. This party was the forerunner of the present Democratic party.

From 1793-1815, the period of the French Revolution and activities of Napoleon, the questions that divided the American people into Federalists and Republicans were all connected with foreign countries;--"neutral rights; Orders in Council; French Decrees; impressment; embargoes; non-intercourse acts; conduct of England; insolence of French Directory; Acts of Napoleon. The Federalists sympathized with England. The Republicans, with France."[1] So from the first, two opinions meant two parties.

Washington, in his Farewell Address, expressed the sentiment of the fathers of the American Constitution towards political parties. "Let me warn you in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally."

The theory is that one party strengthened the federal government; the other was in favor of upholding the "sovereign" rights of the states. James Madison probably gave the real solution to the party sentiment when he said, "The most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal

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[1] MacMaster, John Bach. A School History of the United States. New York: American Book Co. 1897

[2] Brooks, Robert C. Political Parties and Electoral Problems. p.48 New York: Harpers. 1923

distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society."[1] That means a division of voters into parties according to their possession of different kinds and amounts of property.

After 1815 there was no longer any foreign question to divide the people. The Federalist party ceased to exist. For twelve years there was one great party, the Republican or, as it soon began to be called, the Democratic party. For eight years, during the administration of James Monroe, 1817-25, there was an "era of good feeling"; one great national feeling; party contentions were laid aside.

But a new political question arose. After 1812 there was a most astonishing emigration to the westward. This was due to the fact that the Atlantic sea-board was experiencing dull times, that there were cheap lands in the west, and that the love of adventure was strong, and the desire to "do better" was urgent. With the opening of the Mississippi Valley came the question whether the government should pay for the building of roads, canals, and the improvment of rivers. Sectional interests seemed uppermost. There were three minds:

The manufacturing section--the sea-board;

Trade--Mississippi Valley;

Commerce--South.

Four presidents were chosen for 1824. John Quincy Adams was elected, much to the disappointment of Jackson's friends. Adams stood for tariff for protection of home industries; roads and canals to be built at national expense, -distribution of money

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[1] Beard, Charles A. The American Party Battle. p. 6 The Macmillan Co. 1928

from sale of public lands. His followers were called National Republicans. But the prosperity and energy experienced in developing the new country had made men self-reliant, impatient of restraint, impatient of all claims of superiority. The cry was for "a man of the people". That explains Jackson. He was called the people's candidate and was elected in 1828. His followers called themselves Democratic Republicans.

> "Jackson stands as the personification of a new era in the history of the U.S. The colonial days had passed and the national period was in reality just beginning. . A new era in industry was also just dawning."[1]

William Bennett Munro says it is misleading to say the "influence of the frontier" put Adams out and Jackson in; to explain the whole Jacksonian upheaval--the end of the seaboard dynasty as wholly due to the frontier. He believes "there would have been a Jacksonian interlude without a frontier. In fact the change was less violent as much of the Eastern radicalism had been drawn westward preceding 1828 and had been considerably sobered by the influence of land ownership."[2] The cause, he attributes, was due to the unity of America and of Europe. "When the world swings to the Right, America goes with it--and to the Left also. "

> "Dynamic currents are mostly alike on both continents--in volume, direction, strength of flow. There were strong revulsions against aristocratic and conservative government in Great Britain and on the Continent alike during the Jacksonian era." [2] .
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> The great Reform Act of 1832 marked a decided advance in English Democracy. The electorate was doubled.
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> In France was the July Revolution of 1830. This swept Europe and Canada.

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[1] Moran, Thomas Francis. American Presidents. p. 70 New York: Thomas Y. Crowel Co. 1917

[2] Munro, William Bennett. Pendulum of Politics. Harper's. June 1927

"In America the frontier may have given the movement some peculiarity, but no momentum."[1]

Because of the ease of transportation during this period, the National Convention came into being.

From 1830-40 vast numbers of immigrants from Northern Europe arrived to take advantage of the free lands. In Cincinnati in 1840 one-half of the voters were of foreign birth. A great cry arose: "Our institutions, liberties, system of government, are at the mercy of men from the monarchical countries of Europe."[2] Many demanded a change in the naturalization laws--residence for twenty-one years. So we see the beginning of the immigration problem.

In 1854 was the beginning of the present Republican party. It was founded on the slavery issue. It stood for the Union, as opposed to Secession, and was most usefulduring the struggle of the Civil War.

With 1864 began the Reconstruction period. In March 1866 the Civil Rights Bill gave to the Negroes the rights of citizenship. In December 1866 they were granted the right to vote.

The campaign of 1872 was a most interesting one in many respects, as the Freedmen voted for the presidential electors. Seven candidates showed that old issues were dead and new ones coming.

In 1876 the great issue was the currency question; hard times had come with 1873. Labor and Prohibition parties appeared. There was corruption in public service--dissatisfaction of a large part

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[1] Munro, William Bennett. The Pendulum of Politics.

[2] MacMaster, John Bach. A History of the United States.

of the Republican party with the way affairs had been managed. All these issues made the election of 1876 very doubtful. It was the Hayes--Tilden presidential contest.

> "It was the most extraordinary contest that ever took place in the country. The only hope of the Republicans was the perfect defense of their position. The loss of a single vote would be fatal. Neither party was over-scrupulous, and no doubt the acts of some members of each party were grossly illegal and corrupt. Certain transactions preceding the meetings of electors were not known until long afterwards when the key to the famous 'cipher despatches' was accidently revealed. There were double returns in four states. There was Anarchy in Louisiana.[1]

The period from 1865-1880 deals with financial history. "In general, party differences turned almost entirely on financial and industrial issues.

> The War had resulted in a great industrial revolution in the North and the South.
>
> Great inventions founded and developed new industries. These in turn expanded ranks of labor and led to the rise of corporations and labor organizations and a demand for a long series of reforms.[2]

During the following campaign, of 1880, the Democrats referred repeatedly to the election of '76, charging the Republican party with fraud in the counting of the electoral votes. So close was the election that many always believed that Tilden should have been elected instead of Hayes.

In this Reconstruction Period there were no real issues. The Republican party still rested on the glory of having pulled the Union through the perils of threatened secession. Civil War generals were still in vogue as candidates for the Presidency. In the campaign of 1880, each party nominated a general. Personalities characterized the campaign, as we shall see.

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[1] Stanwood, Edward. History of Presidential Elections. Vol I. p.390 1787--1897. Houghton Mifflin Co.

[2] MacMaster, John Bach. History of the United States. p. 461

The Campaign of 1880.

"Interest in the election of 1880 centers in the Republican convention in Chicago rather than in the campaign." 1

There was a long and desperate effort to nominate General Grant for the third term. Thirty-six ballots were cast, with Grant leading until the last. James G. Blaine was second, and John Sherman third. General Garfield made a splendid speech for Sherman, a speech that reaped its reward in the thirty-fourth ballot, when there were sixteen votes for Garfield. When he started to pretest in favor of Sherman, Senator Hoar ruled that he was out of order. Then there was a mad rush, and Garfield received the nomination--a "dark horse", from Ohio.

"The campaign was fought largely on personalities and trumped-up charges--issues. Garfield was an educated gentleman with a good military record and long experience in Congress; but his party made a greater virtue of his log-cabin birth, and early exploits as a canal bargee." 2

Chester A. Arthur was nominated vice-President "as a sop to Senator Conkling and the New York 'stalwarts'." 3 He had been removed by President Hayes from the office of collectorship of the port of New York. This position had great weight in politics as it controlled over one thousand subordinates who were considered political workers. President Hayes had removed "certain powerful men in his own party because they were using their offices to manage and control political affairs instead of serving the people.

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1 Ashley, Roscoe Lewis. American History. The MacMillan Co. p.464

2 Morrison, S. E. Oxford History of the United States. Vol. II p. 386. London: Oxford University Press, 1927.

3 Haworth, Paul L. The United States in Our Times. 1865-1920. p. 134. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.

While Chester A. Arthur was a machine politician, and was nominated for the vice-Presidency not upon the basis of merit, yet, when he succeeded Garfield, who met his tragic death not long after his election, "he gave the country a conservative and dignified, if not an aggressive administration."[1]

The Republican platform stood for complete reform of the civil service, and denounced the methods taken by the democrats to secure a "solid South". A Massachusetts delegate moved for an amendment to the following effect: "Congress so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to public service." A Texas delegate, one Flanagan, doubtless voiced the opinion of many and gained notoriety by the saying: "To the victor belongs the spoils". "What are we up here for?" But the amendment was adopted for reform.[2]

In the election of 1876 the "Southern Question" had appeared for the last time in American politics. "An era of good feeling was beginning and Hayes was just the man to take the lead. He appointed David M. Key, a Democrat and former Confederate soldier, to a place in his cabinet, and one of the first acts of his administration was to recall the troops from the Southern States."[3]

"He withdrew, from South Carolina and Louisians, military protection which had prevented the overthrow of their governments by a white minority."[4] The democrats took advantage and drove from the capitals the last state governments representative of negro and "carpet-bag" control. In this way was the Southern Question eliminated---"by non-resistance to demands of those who

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[1] Moran, George Francis. American Presidents. p. 109

[2] Haworth, Paul L. p. 133

[3] Moran, Thomas Francis. p. 109

[4] Stanwood, Edward. History of the Presidency. Vol. 1. p. 400

were determined to restore white man's government at all costs, by violence, if necessary."[1]

Many Republicans did not like thisact, as they believed that the faith of their party was pledged to the maintenance of the rights of the colored people (even if these people had failed to make good their privilege of universal suffrage.) Therefore was the South made "solid" for the Democrats.

The South feared that civilization was at stake, (not merely racial supremacy); hence devices to restrict the negro vote. Educational tests favored whites. "Grandfather clauses" were liable to exclude the illiterate or propertyless whites, but could be waived, if ancestors (or applicants) had voted prior to 1867.[2] Among one hundred votes there had been only one negro vote, even at the most important elections. Violence and intimidation had been effective in keeping them from the polls---particularly the machinations of the Ku-Klux Klan.

The democratic candidate was General Winfield S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, a veteran of the Mexican and Civil Wars. He had won favor with the South by showing no sympathy with the Congressional plan of reconstruction. For Vice-President, was nominated William H. English, of Indiana.

The Democratic platform stood for "a tariff for revenue only". The currency question received attention also.

> "The fact is that in this period of transition the contest was little more than a struggle for office. Old issues were dead or dying, and neither party championed any great cause." 3

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[1] Stanwood, Edward. Vol. I. p. 400

[2] Brooks, Robert Clarkson. Political Parties and Electoral Problems. p. 364 New York: Harper, 1923

[3] Haworth, Paul L. p. 136 The United States in Our Own Times. 1865-1920. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920

The campaign was remarkable in several ways:[1]

I The savage assaults made on General Garfield by the opposition. They accused him of:

a) numerous improprieties in his conduct as a member of the House.

b) complicity in corrupt cantracts.

c) having been concerned in a Credit Mobilier, which had made a sensation in Congress in '72 and '73. At one time the number "329" was painted, chalked, and printed everywhere, on sidewalks, doors, and dead-walls, and in the opposition newspapers. The number of dollars supposed to have been received as a dividend was "329".

Stanwood believes that this had little effect, probably, as neither side believed Garfield corrupt.

d) The famous "Morey" letter in the last days of the canvass had a great effect; an effective denial was impossible.

The Democrats gave wide publicity to a forged document in which Garfield was supposed to write to one H. L. Morey, Employers' Union, Lynn, Mass, advocating cheap Chinese labor.

II The tariff question came up a few weeks before election. The Democrats stood for tariff "for revenue only". Unfortunately Gen. Hancock had written and spoken sentences that made him appear ignorant on the tariff question and other public questions.[2] The Republicans made use of Hancock's phrase characterizing the tariff as "a local issue", and tried to convince the voters that he was unfit for public office.[3] They declared that he and the Democratic party stood for free trade, and denounced the doctrine with surprising vigor.[4]

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[1] Stanwood, Edward. p. 415.

[2] Stanwood, Edward. p. 416.

[3] Haworth, Paul L. p. 136.

[4] Stanwood, Edward. p. 416

III. The Democrats harped on the "fraud of 1876", but they failed to incite the interest of the people in the matter. The Electoral Commission law of 1877, the Democratic platform had declared, was the "sacred duty" of the nation to protect, and it "precedes and dwarfs every other issue".[1]

IV. There was conspicuous absence of agitation upon Southern questions; these questions had little influence on the result. Republicans told stories of methods to suppress the negro vote and to maintain the "solid South".

V. There was "discord and sullenness" among the Grant men in the beginning; but harmony was restored after the Maine reverse in September. Then General Grant took the stump himself. The increase in vigor resulting gave such energy to the canvass that it carried Ohio and Indiana in October and made General Garfield President.

VI. There were scandals "connected with contributions of funds to the Republican treasury, which brought into unpleasant prominence the contributions of certain officials who were afterwards shown to have obtained their money by corrupt or otherwise improper acts."[1]

Garfield had but an insignificant plurality of the popular vote over Hancock. This was "due to abstention, voluntary or enforced, on the part of Republican voters in the South."[1]

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[1] Stanwood, Edward. p. 418

The Boston Globe, 1880

Quotations from the Globe show the partisan spirit of the paper at that time, and bitter personal attacks. General Grant's appearance at Hingham and Boston called forth wild enthusiasm from the soldiers and populace in general.

> Hingham---October 15---"Here an immense concourse of people had assembled. The houses were decorated with flags and streamers of red, white and blue, and the thunders of a field piece upon an adjacent hill, and the ringing of all the bells, awakened great enthusiasm among the people." . .
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> "The stay in Hingham was about twenty minutes. Then he went to Quincy "where a halt of a few minutes was made, and the general showed himself to a vast crowd of people, and was received with cheers and the detonations of a single cannon fired about once a minute."
>
> Boston---The visit of General Grant gave "eclat to a rather effective political demonstration. Two meetings were held, one at Tremont Temple and the other at Faneuil Hall, with speakers at each of more or less merit, and the distinguished guest of the Middlesex Club taken from one to the other as the chief attraction of the show. Both halls were packed with people to their utmost capacity and the enthusiasm manifested by the audiences was considerable. The 'respectable', kid-glove element of the Republican party was favored with seats at Tremont Temple; the majority of the plain people were kindly allowed to stand for four hours in Faneuil Hall.
>
> "The latter gathering was altogether more uproarious. When General Grant arrived with Governor Rice and other escort in the midst of a speech by E. W. Stoughton, the audience rose with one accord, handkerchiefs and hats were waved aloft, cheers were repeated again and again, the band struck up and quiet was not restored for fully five minutes, during which General Grant bowed, and after, he spoke briefly. The same reception, with even more prolonged demonstrations, was given the ex-President at the Temple. There were no decorations at Faneuil Hall, but Tremont Temple was graced with life-like portraits of General Grant, General Garfield, and Governor Long, over the stage in front of the organ."

The Globe seemed to stress the idea that more attention was given to Tremont Temple, where the more important people were to gather, than to Faneuil Hall, where the common people were.

The following demonstration of October 16 is called "Echoes":

"The Republicans of Portland, Maine, last night, celebrated their recent victories in Ohio and Indiana by firing '329' shots from an artillery piece on the public square, and with several bonfires in various sections of the city; also by a brilliant display of fireworks in front of the balcony of the City Hall, the interior of which was filled by a jubilant crowd to hear speeches by Washburn and other prominent leaders.

Gloucester--"In response to a call for young men to meet at police court room to form a club independent of the old parties, a large number gathered. Archibald Napoleon Donahue, esq., made his appearance, which was the signal for a series of unearthly yells and terrific tan-yard applause. With great display of rhetoric he proceded to denounce the Deomcratic and the Greenback parties. The lights disappeared and the farce ended amid the overthrow of chairs, ear-splitting cat-calls and shrieks. It was the most turbulent meeting ever held in this city."

More crowd demonstrations--

"Baltimore--Oct. 18--"Despatches from Wilmington, Delaware, state that late Sunday night a crowd of political roughs broke into the saloon of one Gilligan, a Democrat, and cleaned it out, destroying stock and furniture. Fears are entertained that the Democrats will retaliate, and fifty special policemen have beensworn in".

"The Portsmouth, N. H. Democrats had an extensive and successful demonstration last night, with brilliant oratory, fireworks and illuminations."

"The Morse guards (seventy-five men, all voters) and the Hancock cadets of Chelsea united in a parade last evening. They were enthusiastically received, and large displays of fireworks were made."

Personal attack on General Garfield--

"Garfield's biographers state that he was never ordained as a preacher--that he followed the ministry for recreation. In other words, that he preached the gospel for fun, for amusement. When he accepted "329" dollar dividend and the $5000 De Golyer fee, that wasn't for recreation--that was for keeps! (New Haven Union)."

"Grant said to Fowler that he feared great frauds in Indiana. His fears have proved true. The Republican returns show that. (Detroit Free Press)."

The above quotations show the partisan spirit of the Globe and the personal attacks made on the opposing candidate, especially in the references to number 329.

Speaks of buying votes-- (Editorial)

"There is no doubt about the fact that immense sums were used in those states (Ohio and Indiana) to purchase a Republican victory. Probably not less than a million dollars furnished to eachstate, a sum which would buy 10,000 votes in each state, at $100 a vote. Portions of the money were evidently spent in importing negroes and repeaters, but enough votes were bought outright to turn the scale. . .

"The American system is on trial in this election. Shall we have popular government or an aristocracy of wealth governing by the corrupt use of money?"

No possible doubt of the authorship-- (The Morey letter is forged, Oct. 20, not long before election).

"Truth says that Mr. Morey, to whom it was written, died recently, and that the letter was found among his effects. The letter follows. It was written to H. L. Morey, Employers' Union, Lynn, Massachusetts."

"Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, in his address at Chickering Hall, last night, said that he had examined the letter carefully and found it to be genuine. . . The letter together with the envelope is being stereotyped and will be reproduced in fac-simile in Friday's Truth."

"Speaker Randall recognizes the signature, and Hewitt tonight declared that by comparison with letters in his own possession the signature is in the handwriting of Mr. Garfield."

Oct. 21--"Fortunately for the workingman of the United States the original draft of this letter is in existence, and the proof of its authenticity is irrefutable. This proof will be made public very shortly and every man given a chance to judge for himself. The denial of General Garfield is only one more exhibition of the worthlessness of his word, one more illustration of the rottenness of his moral character. The letter will prove the Republican leader again a liar and stand as a beacon light to show the real sentiment of the Republican party toward the workingman."

In the above the Globe calls General Garfield a liar and speaks of the "rottenness of his moral character ---personalities.

Making capital of the letter--"Mr. Garfield believes that 'individuals or companies have the right to buy labor where they can get it cheapest. And this is what his party calls 'protecting home industry!'"

"Cheap labor" is the new Republican motto; but no laboring man ever worked so cheaply as the Republican dandidate when he perjured himself for '329'.

Rebuking a Fraud.

"San Francisco, Oct. 20--When the train with President Hayes and party on board reached Modisto a party of Democrats among the crowd began cheering for Hancock, and, while the President was making a speech, cheers were also given for Tilden. The Republicans, as an offset, cheered for Hayes, and considerable excitement ensued. There were several personal collisions, but none of a serious nature."

Genuine

New York--Oct 22--"The publication of Garfield's Chinese labor letter in yesterday's Truth created great excitement in the city and through the neighboring cities; but it was not until today that the sensation reached the limits of a furore. Truth's offices were thronged all day by people of both parties eager to view the photographic copy of the letter on exhibition, and all pronounced it genuine. Numerous letters from Garfield were brought in by Republicans for comparison, and in every instance the confession was wrung from them that they could not dispute its authenticity."

Playing on race prejudice--

Concord, N. H. -- . . "A fit leader of this party which is the open enemy of the workingmen and their interests, and has legislated against them so long, is James A. Garfield, the Cobden Club free-trader, who boldly urges the immigration of pig-tailed, rat-eating Mongolians to compete with our white civilized labor."

Torchlight demonstration--

Dedham--Oct.22--"A grand illumination and torchlight procession took place at Dedham last evening, in honor of Hancock and English, and was a gratifying success. The hotels and public buildings were elaborately decorated with flags, chinese lanterns, and there was a liberaldisplay of fireworks. . . Processions . . Brass bands headed columns . . at least 1000 torch bearers and a dozen drum corps."

Nov. 1-- A Hurrah for Hancock.

Precipitates a Riot in St. Louis, in the course of which several policemen are dangerously wounded by a brutal Republican mob.

There was a long article telling of intimidating employees---threatening them with loss of jobs unless they voted Republican ticket. It was called, "Bulldozing in New Jersey".

A little Democratic propaganda--

> "Democrats of the fourth district united in a monster parade last evening, a decided success, and by far the largest of the campaign, so far as the city proper is concerned."

Not so great--

> "The Republican torchlight procession last evening was pretty but rather small."

Harper's Weekly, 1880.

Harper's showed a decided Republican attitude. It referred constantly to the personalities made by the Democratic party, and at the same time it was making bitter attacks upon General Hancock. It pictured numerous cartoons that must have been detrimental to the Democratic cause. It criticises the Democrats for electing a Union General when they blamed the war on the Republicans and also depend on the South for solidity. One of the cartoons shows General Hancock viewing agraveyard of rebel soldiers--killed in front of his line at Gettysburg. Such references would seem to be an attempt to revive sectional feelings by inciting the passions that President Hayes had quieted with much success.

As far as the suppression of the colored vote in the South is continued, Harper's considers that the Southern Question still exists.

> July 31--The question of free elections, of the right of every voter to be protected by the government in which he is discharging his part, is fundamental. It is one of the results of the war, but it is not yet acknowledged in many parts of the Southern States, and it is a question quite as vital as commercial prosperity and industrial enterprises. The "Southern Question" exists so long as there is a general and systematic suppression of the colored vote. It is by that suppression, which is the permanent overthrow of the most essential political right, that the Wouth is made solid; and the South is solid for no national and patriotic reason that has been as yet disclosed.

Accuses Democrats as standing for slavery and suppressing votes:

> Aug.7-The Democratic party went out of power twenty years ago, seeking extension of slavery, and threatening disunion if it could not have its way.

It was because of annihilation by terror that the Democrats in 1876 insisted that the vote should be counted as cast. Terror, through shot-gun or violence, suppressed the colored vote in Louisiana. In Feliciana, 1876, the registered colored vote, mainly Republican, was 3046. The Republican vote as cast, 781.

More sectional talk:

Aug. 21--"A Union soldier, nominated by the late disunion party, represents nothing in particular as against a Union soldier nominated by the Union party."

60,000 fraudulent naturalization papers were issued in the year 1868.

Cartoon--Future- Uphill Work. Sept. 4

General Hancock is seen laboring up a steep precipice, burdened with

Naturalization Frauds

Cipher Despatches

Tweed Ring Frauds

Ku Klux

Nov. 4--Speaks of Democratic defeat as due to calumny heaped upon Republican party.

Nov. 6--Democrats accused Garfield of making a bargain with Grant and Conkling.

After a meeting in Warren, Ohio, in which General Grant presided and Senators Conkling and Logan spoke, the ex-President and the Senators paid a visit to General Garfield at Mentor. They staid about twenty minutes. Then, we are informed, the bargain was completed. Mr. Conkling was to dispense the patronage in New York, and Logan, in Illinois, and Mr. Cameron in Pennsylvania; while Grant was to be heir of the nomination in 1884; but poor Mr. Blaine was to be left out altogether.

Comment on the Democratic protest in Indiana:

The Democratic loss in that state is due to Africanization, Corrupt use of money,
Repeating
National election laws.

Intensely personal campaign:

After Election.

Nov. 13--The campaign has been intensely personal, especially against the Republican candidate; and in the October Republican successes there was a large element of disgust and indignation with the attempt to stain the character of a man who has impressed the country as peculiarly upright, able, and intelligent. . . . The exigencies of a political canvass required them to declare that he was a dishonest man.

. . . .

The last week of a political canvass is most humiliating in all of the four years. "Look out for lies about this time", is the instruction written all over it. Party feeling is shown in the fact that honorable men are swept away to the wildest words and conduct. Mr. Barnum gave sanction to infamous forgery. People should have known that every such disclosure on the eve of election is forgery.

Nov. 20--More reference to Democratic loss due to

attacks on Garfield's honesty --

Morey letter--Chinese forgery.

"Neither a sane nor a decent campaign."

"No political spectacle in history is comparable to the absolutely unquestioning and even cheerful acquiescence of 50,000 people, wrought for five months to the highest point of excitement, in the lawfully expressed will of the constitutional majority."

"The Democratic party is substantially a Southern party and a Southern party represents doctrines and policies both reactionary and un-American--which will not be approved by the country.

There was repeated talk about tampering with the suffrage,

and the fair counting of votes.

Indifference between elections--

> Did not think it bad; but dwelt upon the "solemnity of the duty of the vote; should be early impressed on the mind of the American youth."

Urges use of judgment--

> "I care not how politicians may plot, if the people will exercise individual judgment, and vote their conscientious conclusions."

Results of the election show where the least intelligent voters are--

> New York State - Garfield 83,757
> Hancock 61,744
> New York City and Brooklyn gave Hancock 50,000 of this.

> "These figures, (50,000) represent the least intelligent voters in those cities. Now does any sensible Southern man really suppose that the shows and grog-shops and foreign elements of New York and Brooklyn are nore friendly to an honest mutual good understanding between the sections than the vast majorities of intelligent and substantial American citizens throughout the State of New York?"

The South wanted the Negro vote left out. Spoke of the union of the solid South as an "effort to protect its inalienable rights guaranteed by the Constitution."

> "If the South proposes to remain solid until the North acquiesces in the overthrow of the civil and political rights of those whom it freed, the South will remain solid for a long time."

Denounces fraud of the Chinese letter:

> Dec. 4--The whole business of the Chinese letter is disgraceful. The forgery was published on the morning of October 20. . . Decent Democratic papers denounced the forgery. Mr. Hewlitt remained silent. Morey has not been produced. Nobody knows of his existence.

The Campaign of 1880.

Characteristics

"The campaign was fought largely on personalities and trumped up charges." S. E. Morrison

"The contest was a little more than a struggle for office; no great issue at stake." Haworth

"Neither a sane nor a decent campaign." Harper's

"The last week of the political canvass is most humiliating." Harper's

Emotion.

Savage assaults made on General Garfield.
Money scandals.

His log-cabin birth made a stronger appeal than his fine record.

Playing on race prejudice. Forged Chinese letter.

Attacks on General Hancock.

Insulting cartoons.

Bitter partisan spirit of the press. Personal attacks on candidates.

Crowd demonstrations; oratory; torchlights; fireworks.

Intimidation of negro vote.

Summary.

Emotion in large letters characterizes the campaign of 1880.

No evidence of dissatisfaction with such procedures; no attempt at improvement.

The Campaign of 1884.

The Mugwump Campaign.

During the administration of President Arthur there were "no distinct party lines or issues; men continued, therefore, to act each with his own party, merely as a matter of habit; and up to the spring of 1884, there was nothing to portend the violence and fury with which the canvass of that year was to be conducted."[1]

"Arthur's placid administration ended in the most exciting presidential campaign since the Civil War, although the only real issue was possession of the government."[2]

The Republicans nominated James G. Blaine, the candidate who had the strongest, most enthusiastic followers. Maine was with him, but not the other New England States. All the other Northern and Western states supported him except New York, New Jersey, and Indiana.

Many Republicans were unalterably opposed to Blaine because of old charges made against him in the campaign of 1876, and also because of his course of action as Secretary of State. They considered that the Republican Convention, in its choice of Blaine, showed a reckless disregard of political morals. So serious were their objections that they revolted and formed the Independent party known as "Mugwumps". They announced to the Democrats that if they made an acceptable nomination they could have the support of the Independents.

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[1] Stanwood, Edward. p. 419. History of the Presidency. Vol. I

[2] Morrison, S. E. Oxford History of the United States. Vol. II p. 388.

"The revolt among the Republicans was serious; after the most exciting contest since 1876, Cleveland was elected."[1]

An English historian says:

"As 'bolting' is the great offence in American political ethics, few of the Mugwumps managed to resume a public career; younger delegates like Henry Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt, who supported Blaine while admitting the worst about him, had their reward."[2]

The brief summary taken from Senator George F. Hoar's Autobiography gives "probably the most comprehensive impression of Mr. Blaine." This selection was taken from "The Christian Science Monitor," January 31, 1930. It was sent from Augusta, Maine, as exercises were held throughout the State in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of James Gillespie Blaine, known as "the man from Maine".

"Mr. Blaine was a brilliant and able man, lovable, patriotic, far-seeing, kind. He acted in a great way under great responsibilities. He was wise, and prudent when wisdom and prudence were demanded. If he had attained to the supreme object of his ambition and reached the goal of the Presidency, if his life had been spared to complete his term, it would have been a most honorable period, in my opinion, in the history of the country."[3]

"The Republican revolt took much of the spirit out of the party. Also it had a strong effect on the Democratic party. It became evident that the canvass would differ in important respects from all that had preceded it."[4]

"In the campaign much oratory was spilled on the subjects of the tariff and the "solid South," but there was no overshadowing issue, and the contest soon degenerated into one of personalities. Right-thinking people were nauseated by the tactics of both sides, and one editor fitly characterized the campaign as 'worthy the stairways of a tenement-house.'"[5]

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[1] MacMaster's History of the United States. p. 464.

[2] Morrison, S. E. Oxford History of the United States. Vol. II. p. 392.

[3] Hoar, George F. Autobiography. Christian Science Monitor. Jan. 31, 1930.

[4] Stanwood, Edward. p. 446.

[5] Haworth, Paul L. p. 144.

"Serious personal accusations were made against the Democratic candidate, Grover Cleveland, who had great success as Governor of New York. The Mugwumps openly supported Cleveland. They declared themselves, though, still Republican, but opposed to Blaine only, and that Cleveland was better than his party. Many of them became members of the Democratic party. The canvass was from first to last continued on personal grounds. Candidates were mercilessly lampooned, and false accusations of the most preposterous character were made against them. The earnest efforts of many Republicans to introduce questions of principle, to direct the attention of the people to the records and the tendencies of the two parties, and thus to change the character of the canvass, were unavailing."[1]

Another peculiarity of the canvass was that the Democrats feared that Tammany would support General Butler, who was the People's candidate--a demagogue type of leader who was appealing to the laboring man. Cleveland was "brusque of manner and blunt of speech", and had offended the labor vote and Tammany Hall, and the Catholics.[2]

The Republicans feared for the results as they were weakened by the Prohibition party. The antagonizm of the Mugwumps was active in New York, particularly. "But Blaine's managers hoped that he would gain enough Irish votes to more than make up for the Republican defections. He was popular with the Irish as his mother was of that race, and his sister was the superior of a Catholic convent, and he had championed the cause of Ireland."[3]

Blaine made a tour of the West and met everywhere with enthusiasm; was cheered by enormous crowds.

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[1] Stanwood, Edward. p.446.

[2] Haworth, Paul L. p. 144.

[3] Haworth, Paul L. p. 144.

"The Democrats were jubilant over a fresh contingent of voters; and hopeful of returning power after many years of exclusion therefrom, they made a bold and confident fight."[1] There had not been a Democratic administration since 1856. All could see that the result would be extremely close.

"Just on the eve of election, the hope of the Republican party was dashed. A delegation of clergymen met Blaine at New York. Their spokesman, Rev. Samuel D. Burchard, in the course of his address, said in effect that the Republican canvass was directed against 'Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion'. This phrase immediately was used with great effect to drive back Irish support into Democratic ranks; for the Irish believed Blaine disloyal to his Catholic mother.. But he had not used the phrase--indeed, it is doubtful if he even heard it as it was uttered; but it was employed as if an expression of his own, and there was scarcely a doubt that it affected the votes of New York which was most closely divided, to change the whole result, and to elect Cleveland instead of Blaine,--for the vote of New York was decisive."1

"Although the 'reformers' talked a great deal about 'purity' in politics, the campaign of 1884 was principally over personalities; and, as a contemporary newspaper put it, it took on the tone of 'a pothouse quarrel'. There was no real division over issues, as will be seen by a comparison of platforms, and scandalous rumors respecting the morals of the two candidates were freely employed as campaign arguments. . . . Having enjoyed no opportunities for corruption worthy of mention, except in New York City where they had reaped a good harvest during the sunshine, the Democrats could honestly pose as the party of 'purity in politics'. Their demand for a change was approved by the voters."[2]

"In an unusually bitter campaign the combined Democratic and "mugwump" vote elected Cleveland, 1884, the first Democratic President since the Civil War. There was pandemonium in the House over Blaine's Letters. Political discussion degenerated into personal abuse. The cartoonists were malignant. . Mobs filled the street. . savage

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[1] Stanwood, Edward. p. 447.

[2] Beard, Charles, A. Contemporary American History. 1877-1913. p. 99. The MacMillan Co.

> cheers and groans. . Violence. . Bodies marched. . Cry of 'Hang Jay Gould'. 'No more Civil War issues.' There was a great change in the whole social and political structure of the American Republic."[1]

The excitement did not die out with the election, as the result was in great doubt. New York was so close that each side claimed returns for several days. Scores studied returns with "intense anxiety"[2]; The plurality in New York was only 1,149 in 1,200.000 votes.

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[1] Thorndike, Ashley H. Modern Eloquence. Vol. IX. p. 204

[2] Stanwood, Edward. p. 447.

Boston Evening Transcript, 1884

From the start the Transcript shows strong sympathy with the Independents; and at the same time, makes a personal attack upon Mr. Blaine. It refers to the "depth of feeling" of the Independents of Maine as well as of Massachusetts; and to the fact that the admirers of Blaine in the country towns of Maine did not "weigh evidence".

> Portland, Me., September 3, 1884--We may not be full of Republican bolters, but those we have are not one whit behind their Massachusetts brethren in the depth of their feeling. Said one, "I regard the nomination of Blaine as the greatest calamity of recent years. That nomination is a lesson to young men in politics not to use public life as a means of getting rich. After eight years of Blaine, not much that is worth saving will be left of a Republican form of government."
>
> This was a mature man speaking. He said further: "The most disheartening phase is the fact that the nomination was apparently demanded by the masses of the Republican party. Blaine was the best-known man in the country. His record had twice been laid before the public in such a way that no intelligent man could be ignorant of its leading features. Many of the bosses of the party had feared to risk the nomination, but the great body of Republicans had declared that this man of jobs, trickery, and untruthfulness was the desire of their hearts."
>
> I think this man's gloomy view hardly just to the mass of Republicans, at any rate, in Maine. The fact is that the greater portion get their news from the Republican newspapers in weekly editions. If after reading the Lewiston Journal for the last ten years, any question arises in the voter's mind as to the honesty and sincerity of Blaine, or concerning his reputation among the good and true, then, the journal has failed in its object.
>
> It is hardly an exaggeration to say that a majority of the Republicans in the country towns in Maine would no more think of weighing evidence for and against Blaine than they would in the case of George Washington. There is, of course, a pretty sizable minority to whom this statement would not apply.

Voters disposed to go with the current-

Editorial.

Sept. 4--There is persistent boasting, kept up in many quarters, to influence careless and unthinking voters disposed to go with the current. The individual citizen who puts his conscience into his ballot, does not ask where the majority tends, but what is his individual duty in the premises. Such men, who have definitely made up their minds to oppose James G. Blaine, will not be turned from their purpose by any aspect the canvass may assume. They are actuated by a loftier idea than success, although no one with much reason can now predicate a defeat for them, even upon the low plane of numbers, so far as signs presage the outcome of the electoral struggle.

Incriminating for Mr. Blaine--

Sept. 5--As Mrs. Morrill intimated, the appointment of Mr. Blaine to the vacancy as senator (made by Mr. Morrill), was evidently to save him from further investigation into inevitable incriminating verdict of the committee.

Mr. Morrill was visited by Mr. Blaine at the beginning of the congressional investigation into the Little Rock Railroad bonds.

Women are publicly contributing more to this campaign than to any previous one in our history. . . due to her estimate of his personal character stated by Mrs. Morrill in a "perfectly womanly, mature, and most honorable way, in her letter to the bungling Ohio committee who invited a dead man (Mr. Morrill), to take part in the campaign." Mr. Blaine had sold stock to both Lot and Anson Morrill, in the Little Rock. Both believed Mr. Blaine's statement in the House, April 26, 1876, that he subscribed for his stocks and bonds on the same terms as other people; and both were equally surprised when it appeared from the Mulligan developments ten weeks later that Mr. Blaine had lied, since it came out that "in addition to the above (list) there are to be delivered to James G. Blaine's orders land grant bonds in 7's, currency, $130,000; first mortgage bonds 6's, gold, $32,500.

"It is the modern 'boss's' idea, only, that the party is the unit not the man."

Sept. 6--Blaine men backing with money for legitimate and other purposes. The chairman of the Bath committee writes to one in Portland: "For Heaven's sake come home and help win one more Republican victory!"

Pro-Cleveland: Money available, if needed to stave off disaster:

> Sept. 6--Men would find a way of adding some goodly sums to the campaign fund, if they really were afraid of dire consequences should Cleveland be elected. Self-interest would impel them to stave off disaster. Four years ago when the tarill cry was raised a few weeks before the election, they poured money out to secure the success of Garfield. What is the situation now, They are lukewarm, indifferent. . The confidence of business men in Cleveland is the answer.
>
> . . . .
>
> Republican managers are despondent; Democrats are buoyant and confident, and not without reason. The prevailing sentiment among Democrats and among many Republicans is that the chances, as things look at present, are in favor of Ohio's going Democratic next November. And if this Democratic hope is realized, the effect undoubtedly will be bo give a tremendous impetus to Cleveland's canvass.

The Springfield Republican deals in personalities:

> Sept. 8--Bishop Huntington, of Syracuse, New York, has become an Independent and expresses his views on Blaine: "It would indeed be deplorable if the young men of this nation should be informed by this election that the people of the United States condone the offences proved against James G. Blaine. The moral effect would be very depressing, should they be told by his election that they can lie, defraud, become demagogues, bribe givers and takers, and still not forfeit the people's conficence. It is a humiliating spectacle to see so many men like Hoar, Davies, and others twisting his dishonored record in such a way as to become a deliberate attempt to make his conduct reputable. At any rate, the action of those who sneer at the attempt to purify the political atmosphere is contemptible."

Sept. 8--There was an address by Governor Robinson before the Norfolk Club at Young's Hotel. It was a Republican gathering, with such distinguished guests as Honorable Theodore C. Bates, Lieutenant-Governor Ames, and Honorable George B. Loring. He dealt in personalities and talked of campaign issues. He spoke of the characters of the two candidates. Believed that "Maine people are intelligent enough to know if Mr. Blaine is as bad as painted, and to

understand by this time about the old charges of eight years ago about the activities of Blaine.

Governor Robinson also quoted Cleveland's words, "The people have learned that mystery and concealment cover tricks and betrayal". He used this against Cleveland's character, and makes a plea for the Republicans to stand by the party.

He was interrupted after every sentence, almost, by applause and cheers.

Wildest demonstration--

Blaine in Philadelphia.

> Sept. 24--There was a great torchlight demonstration in Philadelphia last night in honor of Mr. Blaine. Over 30,000 torches were in line. Streets were densely packed. At the reviewing stand he was greeted with an unexpected sight. The street in front (of the Union League Club) was jammed to its utmost capacity, while farther down it was a sea of flaring torches and handsomely uniformed men. The cheers of those near the stand were taken up by the crowd and finally lost far up and down the street. When the head of the procession passed, the crowd could no longer maintain itself and broke forth in the wildest demonstration. Men screamed and halloed themselves hoarse, hats were tossed in the air, and the greatest excitement prevailed. Several times the head of the procession was turned by the great crowds of spectators in front. Mr. Blaine was very much delighted, and laughed and chatted gaily with his friends. Harmony Legion, as it passed, gave vent to a loud "hallelujah". . . Cheer after cheer followed the out-going train, and the crowd reluctantly turned away. For several hours afterwards the procession continued to pass in review by the Union League.

The People's Party.

> Sept. 25-- General Butler talks at Worcester. Cheers, applause, and laughter - hisses - talks of labor inequalities and oppressions, and accuses Governor Cleveland of lacking in proper aid to laboring man. Hisses, applause, throughout.

Forgeries--unscrupulous electioneering:

Oct. 1--Speaks of forgery of Morey letter, which deprived General Garfield of five electoral votes in California, and three in Nevada. "So far, in the contest, now going on, only two minor forgeries have been perpetrated--one of General Raum's name to a circular, and another of Neal Dow's name to a letter intended to intensify the hostility of the liquor interest against Mr. Blaine.

Such unscrupulous electioneering only hurts the party in behalf of which it is employed."

Demonstrations at Columbus, Ohio:

Oct. 4--Nothing in Mr. Blaine's progress from Boston westward has excelled in enthusiasm the great demonstration in Columbus, Friday evening. The crowd in the street, when the train arrived, was certainly greater than has greeted him at any time except the one at Rochester. Mr. Blaine went from the depot to the house of his kinsman, Henry Miller. On his way he stopped in the Niel House, and in response to repeated calls from the multitude appeared at the balcony and spoke.

His speech was constantly interrupted with cheering - renewed cheering - tumultuous cheering - great and prolonged cheering.

Personalities - demonstrations -

Honorable Patrick A. Collins returned from the west. He gave a speech in behalf of the Democratic party. A Butler element was present, and cheers for the ex-Governor were called for; but the threatened disturbance was quelled with much difficulty by the self-possession of the speakers.

"I am and always have been a Democrat and I am certain that I shall die a Democrat unless the Republican leopard changes his spots."

There were more of such comparisons. Excitement prevailed. Many shouts and cheers.

"I appeal to your reasons and your consciences, not, thank God, to your prejudices and your passions; and I say that the Republican party in this contest is surely overwhelmed by the natural Democratic growth unless what the Republican leaders are now calling "our Irish fellow citizens" rally to its aid. At this present time, in this year of grace, 1884, the Irish can take care of themselves. (Applause).

Mr. Collins spoke of Mr. Blaine's bad characteristics. "Of all times, this is not the time to change. We have borne the dust and heat and burden of the conflict; and shall we now turn to a party disgraced and dishonored by its leaders? The issue of the campaign is the question whether the government of this country shall be swayed by honest or by dishonest hands. . (Applause).

The money power in elections:

The temptation is great for bribery, when persons laboriously announce themselves as in the market. So much money has been disbursed in some states at previous contests that a mercenary body has actually been established who shamelessly avow that they will sell their votes to the highest bidder. If the Republic is ever undermined, the catastrophe that will then occur is as likely to be traced to the corrupting influence of money at elections as to any other couse.

Demonstration at Faneuil Hall:

The speech by Honorable Hohn Sherman (Oct. 29) at Faneuil Hall was received with enthusiastic applause. He made a long speech and was cheered constantly. Henry Cabot Lodge spoke; also Theodore Roosevelt, who said that Mr. Blaine was the people's candidate and that he did not believe the people erred in their judgment in standing by him. "He was nominated against the wishes of the office holders; and I do not believe the people nominated him because he is a bad man."

Vociferous yelling - banners - cannon and fireworks -

Mr. Blaine arrives in New York City.

At Patterson there was an immense multitude waiting for the arrival of the train--certainly not less than 40,000 persons. They had banners and cannon and fireworks; and when Mr. Blaine appeared they cheered and yelled so vociferously that it seemed idle to attempt a speech.

At Passaic there was "quite a demonstration".

There was an Independent rally at Charlestown. Speeches were made by Reverend James Freeman Clarke, Colonel Codman, Senator Wadleigh, and others. Senator Wadleigh said: "Blaine is the center of the corrupt influences that focus and crystallize at Washington. Though many men in Congress have denounced the various rings, and sought to prevent and overturn them, there cannot be found anywhere any act or word of James G. Blaine in opposition to any of them. (Applause). . . . Search his whole black, spotted record (great applause) from the moment he entered Congress to the moment I am talking, and if you find word or act against any of these plundering conspiracies, I will vote for him and give $1000 to the secretary of the Republican State Committee. You can't do it. (applause)

His course from beginning to end has been stained by fraud, theft, and perjury"(applause).

The Transcript's summary of the above meeting:

"The meeting was one of the most enthusiastic ever held in Charlestown, and closed with rousing cheers for Cleveland and Hendricks."

Deep political excitement of the hour -

There was a meeting at Faneuil Hall to hear Sherman. "The interest and enthusiasm testified to the deep political excitement of the hour." . . "The enthusiasm at Faneuil Hall today never got beyond control, the reporters say."

Enthusiastic preparations:

New York, Oct. 29--The Fifth Avenue Hotel is filled today by a throng drawn by curiosity to see Blaine, who is receiving clergymen and others. Preparations for demonstrations by the Republicans are on a big scale and will rather overtop the Cleveland demonstrations unless the Democratic leaders wake up.

Enthusiastic Blaine men say there will be 60,000 men in line in the parade in this city on Friday night, a novel feature of which will be the electric light battalion of the Edison Company. Edison himself will carry a light of five hundred candle-power. There will be besides, several hundred men with incandescent lights of fifteen candle-power, and a revolving light of twenty-five hundred candle-power.

Stirring addresses at Faneuil Hall -

The business men of Boston had a great anti-Blaine meeting at Faneuil Hall, Oct. 30. There were stirring addresses by Col. Codman, Daniel Dougherty, and others. Notwithstanding there were no distinguished statesmen there, and the weather was bad, the hall was filled an hour before noon. . . .

When the speakers appeared, there was tremendous applause. Somebody cried out, "Three Cheers for Col. Codman!" And instead of three he got a score. He received an ovation that any man might have been proud of, and throughout his short but spirited speech his remarks were punctuated with the loudest and wildest applause; and during the delivery of the speeches that followed, the same high pitch of enthusiasm was constantly manifested.

Codman called on them to save the honor of the country. "We call on you, sons of Germany, to bring your strong hearts and rugged brains. We call on you, warm-hearted Irish citizens, to stand by it in its danger. We call on you, native-born New Englanders, to stand by the country (a voice, "We'll do it"), for it is one of the honest men of the country that they are trying to defeat."

Daniel Dougherty urges them to save the country:

"When last I spoke in this hall, it was to plead for the election of Abraham Lincoln and the integrity of my beloved country. (applause) Today I am not to speak for the life of my country but for her integrity and honor. (applause) Unlike the distinguished gentlemen who occupied the platform yesterday, (hisses,) I am, and always was, an ardent believer in the principles of the Democracy. (applause)

. . . .

When you find the people robbing your treasury, why will you boast of the greatness of your Government? (applause) Why seek to hide these things? In this hour of public danger, my God! why should we hesitate to speak of them?" (applause)

. . . .

"You have but one duty to perform, and that is, vote for Cleveland. (applause) In the name of purity and public virtue, redeem the State, and the country will be saved." (prolonged applause)

Throughout the speech there was applause after almost every sentence.

"Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion"

"Perhaps the 1025 clergymen were sincere in their acceptance of the statement that the antecedents of the political party opposed to the Republican party "have been rum, Romanism, and Rebellion". But to be sincere is not always to be truthful. . . but clergymen should, of all men, weigh their words. Is it already forgotten that Democrats shouldered muskets in defence of the capital twenty-three years ago? As for Romanism, were there no Romanists in the Union army? nor none who distinguished themselves as leaders during the Rebellion days? . .

It is well calculated to destroy the fruits of a vast amount of careful and expensive intrigue with Irish and Roman Catholic haters of Grover Cleveland. Mr. Blaine swung a censer in a Roman Catholic Church as a boy, for he was born a Catholic and his mother was a proselyting Romanist. It is not to be supposed that he rebuked the remark, but the ministers have done so much work for him, that they might well think they should be permitted to have their fling for this once."

The West little affected by personalities:

People returning from the West say that the Mulligan issue in the campaign has hardly been heard of there. The question upon which stress is laid by the press and the stumpers---the morality of the candidates---has little effect, however, in breaking party lines.

Blaine in New York

New York merchants had a parade in the afternoon. In the evening was a dinner at Delmonico's, the presiding officer, William M. Evarts. There was applause and cheering throughout every sentence of the long speech.

Oct. 31--There is fear of trouble in the polls in New Orleans. The danger is that the names of 7.000 registered citizens shall be struck off the poll books at the request of some of these so-called Democratic supervisors and their Republican colleagues.

Governor Cleveland arrived at Bridgeport, Connecticut yesterday afternoon. At the depot was a universal struggle for positions of advantage. Sober and staid citizens cheered themselves hoarse in the enthusiastic rush. Outside on the platforms the multitude was practically beyond control. Inside, even the lunch counters were appropriated for standing room, and all the while an army of hacks moved down from the city's center, and deposited fresh additions to the distinguished visitor's welcome. When the police had cleared a passageway, Governor Cleveland descended from his train.

Cheer after cheer rolled through the depot chased by other cheers on cheers, and the struggle to get a glimpse of the governor was renewed. . . .

The reception was at City Hall. The corridors were filled with an audience such as has been rarely seen, even in Democratic New Haven. Up the iron stair-cases the crowds pressed. The committee in charge could hardly keep back the surging tide of enthusiastic humanity.

When the Governor appeared, the cheers that went up were deafening. So anxious was each man in the crowd to get a chance to greet the Governor that order could not be enforced for some time; and it was only when a squad of police arrived that the hand-shaking was made comparatively easy. At 8.30 the torture ceased, and the Governor, his forehead covered with perspiration, was dragged into the Mayor's office and allowed to sit down.

From the moment that he entered the building until his carriage rolled away, the noise of cheers and the clashing of music of the bands would have prevented an address, or even a response to the ovation which had been offered.

Hats thrown in the air as Cleveland speaks at Bridgeport -

From New Haven Cleveland went to Bridgeport, where he made a speech. "Cheer after cheer followed Mr. Cleveland's speech. The audience rose to their feet in a body, and hats were thrown in the air. The galleries which were filled with ladies, were a mass of waving handkerchiefs; and it was fully ten minutes before McSweeny, the Irish suspect, who made the concluding speech, could be introduced."

Another Faneuil Hall Rally.

The Blaine Republicans held their second "business men's" rally. The meeting was enthusiastic to the last degree, all the speeches (mainly very cheap) being liberally rewarded by the applause of the excited hearers. During

Judge Hoar's speech he could not make one complete sentence without applause. While Honorable Thomas B. Reed was speaking "A Disgraceful Scene" occurred. The Transcript tell of a man in the audience who interrupted the speaker and asked whether he (Mr. Reed)"had offerred objections to a resolution offering to investigate frauds in the Naval Department. " Mr. Hall cried, "Get him out!" The gentleman was dragged toward the door, making a desperate effort to defend himself against the mob. The police were not visible, and the president and numerous vice-presidents upon the platform made no effort to stop the disgraceful scene. Judge Hoar feebly called out "protect him". But the man was hurled from the "cradle of liberty"

The Loreauville Riot.

New Orleans, Nov. 3--Above two hundred Republicans, principally negroes, entered Loreauville a little after one o'clock Saturday afternoon, cheering in the wildest manner, and using profane and jobscene language in the greatest profusion.

The crowd was headed by ex-Sheriff Victor, and they abused the Democratic candidate in the vilest terms. A few citizens, not over fifteen, led by Joe Gilfaux, met this crowd and remonstrated with them, when some unknown party fired on Gilfaux. Gilfaux and Captain Bell fell. There was the greatest confusion and the negroes scattered in every direction.

The firing was quite general, and many were wounded and some killed at the scene of the fight, and one was found dead a mile away.

Some of the negroes ran until exhausted. Some ran into the bayou, where they were drowned. The panic among the negroes was terrible. They had been told so many wild stories about the Democrats that they thought the day of doom had come.

Public Meetings.

The party which has Faneuil Hall for a specific purpose has a grievance against those of opposite views who obtrude themselves to destroy the effect of speeches by questions difficult to answer satisfactorily on the spur of the moment. There has been too much disturbance of public gatherings this autumn. Free discussion requires that the parties should hold their own meetings unmolested by the other side. No really thoughtful and courteous man will venture into an assemblage held under the auspices of his political opponents without considering himself under bonds to hold his tongue and keep the peace.

Jottings.

An early vote is by so much a prevention of fraud.

Political Points.

Party ties have bound the good and the bad so closely together that the links of principle can no longer stand the strain. (E. H. Faxon)

Nov. 5--The political temperature is at fever heat all throughout the country at this hour. Bogus despatches of all sorts are flying over the wires for gambling purposes. Sober citizens must abide in patience and await the reception of actual returns in lieu of the guesses and estimates consisting of what has really come to hand.

Nov. 6-"The strain of the suspense of this election is an immense and incalculable injury to every honest interest. Nobody but stock gamblers can do business under such circumstances." The Transcript likens it to the suspense of 1876 when the election was held open.

Harper's Weekly, 1884.

The following gives an idea of the attitude of Harper's during the campaign. It printed all the letters of Blaine to Warren Fisher in regard to the railroad bonds, and pointed out the incriminating passages. Numerous cartoons pictured Blaine always as the plumed knight; carrying a bag on which was written "twenty years of masquerading" or similar; or, "Slippery Jim". Such personalities must have affected the reader strongly.

> Oct. 4-- . . "And when Republicans themselves raise the issue between the support of an upright, courageous officer for the highest executive trust, and an officer who jobs and traffics in his place, it is not a party question; it is a question of official honesty, and this paper urges the support of the honest man. . .
>
> We advise "A Young Republican"to regard his party as an instrument to promote the public welfare, and to understand that the public welfare cannot be promoted by voting, under the plea of supporting his party, for a man who makes merchandise of public office."

Bitter personal attack, illustrating the public sentiment:

Compares the two candidates -

> Oct. 25-- . . "His (Cleveland's) manly integrity and simplicity, his frank, direct, and hearty dealing, his official fidelity and singleness of purpose, are in extraordinary contrast with the restless, scheming, tortuous, crafty, and concealed activity of his opponent, who during the whole term of his public service has appeared to be engaged in enormous private speculations."

Refers to the bitterness of the campaign -

> Nov. 1--"This is the last number of Harper's Weekly that will be issued before the election. The campaign of unprecedented personality and bitterness is ending in the promise of the election of the candidate whom, in common with thousands of Republicans, we have earnestly supported."

The paper refers again to the nature of the campaign, and its direful effects upon the country, and urges a longer term of the presidency so that such terrible experiences may be of less frequent occurrence:

> Nov. 8-- . . "It has been a debate of unusual acrimony because it involved the gravest differences within the parties; and whatever the result may be, it will be impossible for some time to perceive the utmost consequences of the peculiar conditions of the combat.
>
> . . . .
>
> As the country grows and the population rapidly increases, the excitement and fury of the presidential elections increase also; and there is probably a very large body of citizens who already regard their frequent recurrence with dismay, if not alarm. . . Had the fathers foreseen the 53,000,000 of population within the century, and a practically popular election of the President, they would have foreseen also the feverish public turmoil, and they would have decided that a longer term would be more desirable."

Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.

Nov. 10, 1883

The "1884" numbers dealing with the election were missing. In this number is indicated the sentiment of the public in regard to the suppression of the colored vote.

> Nov. 10--In Georgia a group of eight men, of the Ku-Klux Klan--members of influential families, were convicted for perpetration of outrages upon colored men who had voted contrary to the wishes of their persecutors. . . This is the first conviction of Ku-Klux in Georgia, but if the outrages continue, it is not likely to be the last. The best public sentiment everywhere reprobates these acts of violence, and the day is not far distant when the "regulators" who resort to them will be branded, as they deserve, as outlaws, for whom no punishment is too severe.

The Campaign of 1884.

Characteristics

"The most exciting presidential campaign since the Civil War, although the only real issue was possession of the government." S. E. Morrison

"Tactics of both sides were nauseating.
A pothouse quarrel.

"Scandalous rumors regarding the morals of both candidates. The contest soon degenerated into one of personalities." Haworth

"A campaign of unprecedented personality and bitterness.

"A debate of unusual acrimony." Harper's

Emotion.

Cartoonists were malignant. The "Plumed Knight" as emotional appeal.

Mobs filled the streets. Savage cheers and groans.

Processions; campaign songs. Men halloed themselves hoarse.

Demagogue orators. Rallies in great disorder.

Playing on religious prejudice; racial prejudice--

"Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion."

Intelligence.

The West was little affected by personalities.

Summary.

This campaign was outstanding for the display of emotion. Many great speakers tried in vain to appeal to the intelligence of the people. The West showed intelligence, in that it was little affected by the attack on the morals of the candidates.

The Campaign of 1888.

There were three issues in this campaign: taxation, tariff, and surplus; but the real issue that was laid before the voters was the tariff controversy. President Cleveland's tariff message of December 1887 created a sensation seldom reached.

> "He pointed out that every year the treasury receipts exceeded expenditures by many millions, that the vaults were becoming congested with money, that the surplus thus created was an incitement to extravagance, that the withdrawal of so much money from circulation was disturbing to business. He asserted that the high duties enabled certain interests to exact excessive profits at the expense of consumers, including both laboring men and farmers. However, he deprecated the 'bandying' of such epithets as 'protection' and 'free trade'; said that the entire withdrawal of duties should not be contemplated; and summed all up in the much-quoted phrase: 'It is a condition which confronts us--not a theory.'" 1

> "In the last few years public opinion has been drifting slowly but surely towards the policy outlined in his famous tariff message of December 1887." 2

The Republicans were delighted, as they realized that Cleveland had made the issue of the campaign of 1888. They declared that the assault was "inspired by our foreign rivals".

The Democrats were somewhat dismayed, but put through the Mills' Bill which reduced duties about seven per cent.

> "Although the performance of the Democrats in the passage of the Mills tariff bill by the House in 1888 showed in fact no strong leanings toward free trade, the Republicans were able to force a campaign on the 'American doctrine of protection for labor against the pauper millions of Europe'." 3

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1 Haworth, Laul L. The United States In Our Times. P. 176.

2 Moran, T . Francis. American Presidents. p. 109.

3 Beard, Charles A. Contemporary American History. p. 103

The following would indicate that voters in general were not in the habit of studying issues:

> "In spite of the equivocal position taken by the Democrats, the Republicans made great political capital out of the affair, apparently on the warranted assumption that the voters would not read the President's message or the platform of his party. In their declaration of principles in 1888, the Republicans made the tariff the leading issue: 'We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection. We protest against its destruction, as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interest of America. We accept the issue and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. . . . We favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system, at the joint behest of the whisky trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers!'" [1]

President Cleveland was the Democratic nominee; vice-President, ex-Senator Allen G. Thurman of Ohio, whose habit of flourishing a red bandanna handkerchief received much public attention, giving a touch of color to the campaign and making an appeal to the workingman.

Both parties declared their sympathy with the efforts of Ireland to obtain home rule; but most attention was diverted to the tariff situation. The Democrats made much of the theory that "lower duties would cheapen the cost of the necessaries of life." [2]

> "By the existing duties the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretences, enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets, while the price of nearly everything farmers must buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation." [2]

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[1] Beard, Charles A. p. 111.

[2] Haworth, Paul L. p. 178.

Senator Benjamin Harrison of Indiana was the Republican nominee; Levi P. Morton of New York, vice-President. The Republicans stood"uncompromisingly in favor of protection. . Its abandonment has always been followed by disaster to all interests, except the usurer and the sheriff."[1]

During the campaign the Harrison followers strove to make use of the fact that he was a grandson of William Henry Harrison, the log-cabin and hard-cider President. To revive the spirit of 1840 there were great rallies and torchlight processions. Old men brought out the badges used when "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" played its part in the election. "Grandfather's Hat", the Democrats declared, was too big for "Little Ben". While small of stature the candidate had a fine intellect and was especially noted for the number and quality of his extemporaneous speeches made during the campaign.

> "In honorable contrast with the campaign of 1884, personalities played little part in this contest. The main battle raged around the tariff question." [2]

Republican managers persuaded manufacturers and other business men that protection was necessary. By comparing conditions of the workmen in America with that of the "pauper labor" of Europe, and declaring that the proposal to lower duties came from abroad, they persuaded the workmen to vote for their protection.

Two months before the election the Sackville letter had a damaging effect on the Democratic cause. One who signed

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[1] Haworth, Paul L. p. 179

[2] Haworth, Paul L. p. 180

himself "Charles F. Murchison", of Pomona, California, wrote to the British minister at Washington asking his "opinion as to which man, if elected, would be most friendly to British interests".[1] Lord Sackville's reply, which was favorable to Cleveland, fell into the hands of the Republican managers who withheld it until near the end of October, and then made all the political capital of it possible. It was a Republican "coup". It aim was to alienate the Irish vote as Sackville was said to be against Irish home rule. The Democratic managers were in a panic. Cleveland had Sackville recalled. "But the damage was done; the dish was broken and could not be mended."[1]

The Democrats, on the other hand, published the Dudley letter in which W. W. Dudley, the treasurer of the National Republican Committee, instructed the party workers of Indiana to "divide the floaters into blocks of five" and "see that all vote our ticket".[2]

"Political corruption was general. Bribery of voters took place in nearly every precinct in the country. Even members of each party demanded pay for voting their own ticket, else they "would remain away from the polls or, perhaps, in revenge vote for the opposing candidates."[2] Under the system of "open voting" a man's vote could be easily checked up. The laws against corruption were weak. Wholesale "repeating" and other evils, particularly in large cities, were evident.

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[1] Haworth, Paul L. p. 181

[2] Haworth, Paul L. p. 182

"The author once knew personally a Civil War veteran who admitted that when home on a furlough he voted forty-nine times for Lincoln and Johnson--once for each absent member of his company. Almost any party worker who grew confidential could tell manystories illustrating the corruption that pervaded elections. Some of the men who managed the 'dirty work' regretted that such a state of affairs existed, but they considered it necessary because the other party resorted to such practices. Most men despaired of being able to improve such conditions and agreed with Senator Ingalls of Kansas when he flippantly exclaimed: 'The purification of politics is an iridescent dream; the Decalogue and the Golden Rule have no place in a political campaign." [1]

Prior to this election Massachusetts had adopted the "Australian" voting system; and before the next election thirty other states did also.

"With the secret ballot, more stringent laws against bribery, the adoption of registration requirements, and the growth of a healthier public sentiment, however, corruption in elections gradually became less prevalent in most parts of the nation." [2]

William Bennett Munro accounts for the change from the strong administration of Cleveland to that of Harrison as due to the "law of the pendulum", which rests on the "psychological fact that man is fickle, incapable of strong, sustained loyalty to any new cause. His urge is to overdo things, both in his likes and dislikes.. There is a cycle in politics--a popular demand for leadership and a popular reaction against it. The American presidents during the past forty years are proof. There have been regular alternations of a loud and a soft pedal in the symphony of national politics--[3]

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[1] Haworth, Paul L. p. 182.

[2] Haworth, Paul L. p. 183.

[3] William Bennett Munro. The Pendulum of Politics.

from Cleveland to Harrison

from Cleveland to McKinley

from Roosevelt to Taft

from Wilson to Harding."[1]

As far as these leaders are concerned one can believe that the law applies.

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[1] Munro, William Bennett. The Pendulum of Politics.

The Boston Daily Globe, 1888.

Both sides made constant appeal to the workingman. Judge Thurman was a great favorite, and the sight of his red bandanna was always welcomed. In the following he was speaking at Shelbyville, Indiana. There was continued applause.

> Oct. 16-- . . "and always men have seen that ninety-nine hundredths of men who belong to the Democratic party are laboring men. (applause, and cries of 'that's right'-- a voice, 'not for a dollar a day, either'). Not if they can get more. (applause) . . Upon you your State depends whether we shall continue to have honest, good Democratic government in the United States or whether we shall be oppressed by a course and policy that treads the people under foot and benefits nobody but monopolists and extortioners. (great applause).

Wild Applause.

> There was a grand Democratic rally at Cambridge. . .
>
> As the gallant Colonel Higginson stepped to the front the audience nearly went wild. Cheer after cheer, and round after round of applause shook the old walls, and it seemed as if the tumult would never end. When at length he could be heard, he commenced very quietly and feelingly.

Vote selling in New York City -

> Oct. 17--Nine or ten thousand lodging-house votes are available in New York City. They belong to tramps, fakirs, and strollers generally, who come there every fall. They swear themselves on the voting list. After a while politics warm up and then their landlords strike out for bids. Sometimes as high as ten or fifteen dollars must be paid for every vote, to outbid the other side.

Judge Thurman attempts to prove he is not a demagogue -

> Oct. 17--Fort Wayne, Indiana-- . . "I am not going to play the demagogue at all. I am not going to say a word against the men who hold these bonds, but between them and the hard-working people of this country, I am on the side of the people." (Applause during which Judge Thurman produces his red bandanna which was greeted with a renewed outburst.) "Whenever I take it out there is a shout and

then the Republican papers say, "The old fellow is at a trick; is playing actor; it is a monkey trick, he is pulling out his bandanna". Well, it is not so; that is all I am going to say about it now." . . . The judge was loudly cheered as he closed.

Rain in Sheets!

Yet a Big Barbecue Draws Thousands.

Peru, Ind., Oct. 19--Forty thousand people tramped around in the mud and rain today eating roast beef and shouting for Allen G. Thurman.

. . .

Senator Voorhees addressed large meetings in every hall in the city. The enthusiasm was unbounded. In his speech tonight Voorhees cautioned the Democrats to be on the alert for colored repeaters who are being imported into the State every day.

. . .

In speaking against high taxation, Judge Thurman waxed eloquent about Democratic principles:

"There is not, I affirm, one single measure that has been adopted for centuries, not only in this country but anywhere in this world, that was for the benefit of the working people, that tended to ameliorate their condition, asvance their interests in their homes or in their shops, that has been achieved except by the influence of Democratic principles." (Great and prolonged applause).

Harvard Speaks for the Democrats.

Oct. 20--"To say that the students were enthusiastic but feebly expresses the outbursts of applause that rang throughout the hall at Tremont Temple." The paper spoke of the cheers for Higginson,--"rounds of three times three were given for the next congressman from the fifth district. Then again the enthusiasm became boundless upon allusion to and the mention of the name of Grover Cleveland and all that his great administration implied.

. . .

William Everett of Quincy spoke. Mr. Everett is probably the most entertaining of the speakers who ever engaged in a political campaign. . He made many brilliant hits in his illustration of the hypocrisy now existing in the Republican party and the corruption to which it had degenerated. The lively little man from Quincy was lustily cheered, and the band played a patriotic air in his honor; and the sturdy students cheered and cheered for him."

The concluding and one of the best speeches of the evening, was by Sherman Hoar. He was greeted with rounds and rounds of applause and cheers. Then the band played, and the students "rahed" (1) and "rahed"(1).

Flying Missiles.

Oct 22--In addition to the outbreak after the Blaine procession last night, there was another serious tumult this afternoon.

Sending negroes to New York -

There are very good reasons for believing that the Republicans are sending negroes from the District of Columbia where they are valueless politically, to be colonized in New York, where they will do most good. The national Democratic committee has been warned and it is safe to say that the scheme will not be allowed to work.

The Globe says very little about the Republican activities and makes little mention of any enthusiasm. James G. Blaine is making speeches throughout the country, and the paper speaks of him as being"coolly treated"in Indiana.

A canvass of very little acrimony -

Evansville, Indiana--Oct. 23--Along the Ohio River counties of Indiana there is not that rampant hurrah that one hears in the middle and northern sections of the state. The canvass is waged strictly on the lines of the tariff, and old campaigners aver that they have never seen a canvass in Indiana marked with so little acrimony and so much respectability.

The Globe makes an attempt to get personal--refers often to the possibility of a divorce between young Mr. and Mr. J. G. Blaine.

Roger Q. Mills.

Buffalo, New York--Oct. 25--Mr. Mills was given an enthusiastic reception. He launched at once into an explanation of the tariff bill which bears his name. It was a good explanation of the tariff issue. Mr. Mills was repeatedly interrupted by cheering of the vast audience, and at every mention of President Cleveland's name the audience rose to its feet and cheered lustily.

(To cheer rather than to listen).

Democratic Day.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Oct. 26-- . . The exposition buildings were crowded and Music Hall was filled with upwards of 8000 people. On the stage was a large flower-framed picture of Mrs. Cleveland and beside it smaller pictures of President Cleveland and Judge Thurman. Thirty-eight pretty children sat on the stage to represent the different states, and waved bandannas and flags as their part in the storm of applause with which the judge was greeted. It kept up in instalments for several minutes, each time being restarted by some enthusiastic Democrat shouting:

"What's the matter with Cleveland?"
or
"What's the matter with Thurman?"

to which there came the well-known reply,

"He's all right."

. . .

Thurman's appeal -

"Now I am not going to play the demagogue in the slightest degree". . . He speaks of the Almighty making labor respectable when He pronounced that sentence, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou earn thy daily bread". (great applause) (Here the speaker was interrupted by applause at his producing a bandanna). You cheer that old bandanna, but I would like to know how in the world I ever would have gotten this bandanna for you to cheer if it had not been for labor. (prolonged applause) Labor made it. (more applause).

The Sackville letter enters -

The Globe explains it on the grounds that Lord Sackville, as a Tory, dislikes the simple administration conducted by Cleveland and the lack of show at the White House; further, as a pronounced Tory, he hates the Irish Nationalists as bitterly and intensely as does the present chief secretary for Ireland, Mr. Balfour.

> It is known to the minister, as it is known to every other intelligent Englishman, that the natural affiliation of the Irish in America is with the Democracy, and that in case of trouble between this country and Great Britain, the sort of trouble that could only be settled by a resort to arms and "an appeal to passion", the Irish would be the first to enlist in the support of the cause of their adopted country, and would be its bravest and most determined defenders.
>
> Is it any wonder then, that my lord, viewing American politics from his magnificent legation on Connecticut Avenue should be more interested in seeing the Republican cause triumph over the Democratic?

As the Globe see it -

Faneuil Hall at Noon.

Uncle George Hoar at a Mass Meeting.

Pettifer, the Englishman, Assists in the Services.

Beard, Morse, and a Caricaturist Amuse the Audience.

> "Rising Sun Morse was next presented by Senator Hoar. He spoke of conditions of the workingmen in Ireland and said they had far fewer comforts than their American brothers. The rich in America were growing richer, but it was a lie that the poor were growing poorer. The Democrats have written "free trade" on their red bandannas but against their red bandannas we unfurl the American flag. . . The audience whooped and yelled in great style.
>
> The meeting broke up with three cheers for the American flag, which Senator Hoar called for. They were given with a will.

In the edition of Oct. 27 there is much about the Sackville letter. The Globe calls the lord a Tory in sentiment and a crony of the Republicans.

The English press advises him not to meddle in politics.

Judge Thurman at Lima, Ohio, spoke of this letter as a scheme to get rid of a discussion of the tariff. He denounced it as written by some skilful, cunning Republican politician who thought to entrap the British minister and get from him some reply that could be used against Mr. Cleveland in the present election.

Torchlight -

There was a big torchlight procession at East Boston last evening. As the procession marched through the different sections of East Boston all were received with the wildest enthusiasm, loud demonstrations.

Mahoney in Ward 3.

Torchlight Parade and Rally.

Oct. 31-- . . The procession included J. J. Mahoney as marshal; the Ninth Regiment drum corps; Young Men's Democratic Club, Chelsea; forty torch bearers and fifty men in police costumes; the Mother Hubbards, twenty-five strong.

A rally was called to order in the old schoolhouse. Speeches were made by J. J. Mahoney, who is a candidate for the Legislature from the ward, and by others. There was much applause. The success of the meeting was very gratifying to Mr. Mahoney.

Governor Ames' View of Sackville Letter.

Governor Ames looked very pleased when he heard the news. He said that whatever the President did would be regarded as having been done for political effect; but any steps he takes will not be half so effective, in the election, as the Sackville letter itself. The Governor did not think

that either the letter or the complications growing out of it would influence any intelligent voter. He added:

> "But the great mass of voters were moved, not by their reason, but by appeals to their passions and prejudices!"

By Torchlight.

Nov. 6-- Big parade of the Republicans. About 10000 men in line. Music and fireworks. Splendid showing of the Bangor men. Five New England States represented. Houses decorated along the route. Bewildering, but not very impressive scenes.

(The Globe speaks of the parade in bantering tone).

Congratulates the Democratic party: the nature of the canvass -

Nov. 7 - "It has made, perhaps, the justest, noblest, most creditable canvass in the whole history of the country. . . Its methods have been far more reputable, straightforward, and candid than those the Republicans have seen fit to employ. . It made no appeal except to the reason and good sense of the voters. It scorned to appeal to the prejudices of race. It did not pander to ignorance; nor resort to forgery; no dishonest tricks.

On the other hand the Republican party . . terrify the ignorant and excite race prejudices that have no proper place in American politics. Convicted at the bar of reason, it sought refuge in deliberate misrepresentation, bogus quotations from foreign papers, and various other unworthy stratagems.

The Democratic party congratulates itself on the fact that it made one of the cleanest, ablest, and most honorable campaigns in all its glorious history.

Bulldozing by colored Republicans -

Chattanooga, Tenn.--Nov. 8--Colored men attempting to vote the Democratic ticket were bulldozed and intinidated by colored Republicans, women taking a conspicuous part. Men were carried bodily from the polls, and those supposed to be Democratic were afraid to go there to vote. It was a most disgraceful proceeding. There was no serious disturbance, however.

The Campaign of 1888.

Characteristics

"In honorable contrast with the campaign of 1884, personalities played little part in this contest."
Haworth

Emotion.

Bribery of voters; much repeating.

"Red bandanna" a strong appeal to working man.

Much demonstration from audiences; cheering.

Sackville letter fraud, an appeal to racial prejudice.

Intelligence.

The growth of a healthier public sentiment in regard to ballot frauds.

The canvass was waged on the lines of the tariff. That promoted thought; less interest in personalities.

Summary.

There was the usual emotion in the crowd gatherings and torchlight demonstrations. Hopeful indications may be found in the fact that "a healthier public spirit prevailed"; there was "very little acrimony."

The Campaign of 1892.

There were two new parties in this campaign: The New National Party and the People's Party. They believed that both the old parties were tools of the capitalists.

> "A very important movement in this campaign was the friendship between the Democratic and the People's parties in certain states west of the Mississippi."[1]

> "In the election of 1892 the Republicans endorsed their policy of protection and the Democrats came out emphatically for a revenue tariff. Cleveland and Harrison were again the candidates. The campaign was unusually quiet, but it was found when the votes were counted that, as in 1890, the Democrats had carried a large number of normally Republican states." [2]

Harrison had displayed integrity and ability but he had not succeeded in becoming the real master of his party; he antagonized some of the great Republican chieftans.

> "Harrison had not proved to be a very popular candidate, and there was nothing particularly brilliant or striking about his administration to enhance his reputation. He was able to secure a renomination in 1892, largely because he controlled so many office-holding delegates to the Republican convention, and there was no other weighty candidate in the field." [3]

In Cleveland's acceptance he took a radical stand on the tariff question. He stated that no exterminating war would be waged against any American interest; merely "a fair and careful distribution of necessary tariff burdens rather than the precipitation of free trade." The platform denounced the McKinley Act as "the culminating atrocity of class legislation," and declared that since the act went into effect there had been

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[1] MacMaster's History of the United States. p. 411

[3] Beard, C. A. Contemporary American History. p. 105

[2] Ashley, Roscoe L. American History. p. 476

ten reductions of wages to one increase.[1] A strike in the Carnegie Steel Company, Homestead, Pa., was the result of wage reduction. Some Republicans, even, thought the McKinley Bill amounted to "protection run mad".[2] At the Carnegie strike a score were killed and many wounded--an occasion that indeed favored the Democratic cause.

The Republicans in their stand for protection said:

> "We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress," i.e. the McKinley bill. 3

> "The campaign was marked by no special incidents, for both Cleveland and Harrison had been found safe and conservative and there was no very sharp division over issues. The tariff, it is true, was vigorously discussed, but Cleveland made it clear that no general assault would be made on any protected interests. The million votes cast for the Populist candidate, however, was a solemn warning that the old game of party see-saw over personalities could not go on indefinitely. The issues springing from the great economic revolution were emerging, not clearly and sharply, but rather in a vague unrest and discontent with the old parties and their methods."[4]

The McKinley Bill of 1890 had not been effective in aiding the farmers in the great agricultural depression following. The situation was desperate not only in Kansas, where there had been a great land boom and a summer of extreme drought, but in an Eastern State a survey of seven hundred representative farms discovered an average annual yield of $167.[5] "The tariff on

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1 Haworth, Paul L. p. 203

2 Haworth p. 191

3 Beard, C. A. p. 111

4 Beard p. 105

5 Morrison, S. E. p.395

manufactures occasioned so sharp a rise in prices as to bring a complete overturn in the congressional elections of 1890.

> "Only 88 Republicans were returned to the new House, as against 235 Democrats; and the Republican majority in the Senate was reduced to eight unstable votes from the Far West. Even rock-ribbed Republican States like Michigan and Massachusetts went Democratic.
>
> There was more to this verdict, however, than revulsion from the tariff, or disgust at Republican chicanery and corruption. It registered a deep-lying unrest that was presently to break forth into a movement that carried Bryan to prominence, Roosevelt to achievement, and Wilson to apotheosis." [1]

It is significant of the "unrest" that Weaver, the candidate of the Populists, received 1,040,866 of the popular votes. Cleveland received 5,556,543; Harrison, 5,175,582.

> "The Democrats rejoiced exceedingly over the result, but if they could have foreseen what the future had in store they would not have felt so much elated over their triumph." [2]

Stanwood remarks that there were "few features of special interest" in the canvass, and the ticket did not arouse great enthusiasm. The Republicans built great hopes upon the fact that Cleveland was not popular with Tammany Hall, and although that body declared loyalty, the Republicans believed it to be insincere. The New York Sun represented those members of the Democratic party who, wanting an excuse for supporting the party, created the alarm that "negro domination" would ensue upon the success of the Republicans. This "disingenuous attempt imparted an element of humor to the campaign in New York." [3]

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[1] Morrison, S. E. p. 393

[2] Haworth, Paul L. p. 205

[3] Stanwood, Edward. p. 515. Vol. I.

The Boston Herald, 1892.

The Herald shows Republican tendencies--preference for protection -

Republicans Smile.

Nov. 1--F. B. Montgomery, member of the Oregon Legislature, has been in Europe. At headquarters today he spoke of the laboring classes in Europe. He was particularly impressed with the squalor and want among them, and the low wages paid, and that people are all anxious for the election of Cleveland, the repeal of the McKinley Bill; and in Chemnitz 50,000 marks was subscribed for this purpose.

"The English are for Cleveland; and for this reason alone I cannot comprehend how the Irish here can vote the Democratic ticket. I got tired at the situation on the other side, and concluded to come home and vote for protection."

Governor McKinley of Ohio speaks for protection -

Brooklyn, Nov. 1--Spoke of the difference between Republican protective tariff and Democratic tariff for revenue only. 10,000 men and women were there.

"Every dollar's worth imported from Europe puts into the public treasury 55 cents; every $1000 worth, $550; that is the Republican tariff for protection. For I Helped to Put It There myself. (cheers) It was not put there for revenue only. It was put there to establish great industries; and it has accomplished its purpose."

Henry Cabot Lodge accuses Democrats of stirring up class feeling--

Lowell--There was a very large and very much interested and very enthusiastic gathering of people at Huntington Hall. Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge called attention to the number of industries in Lowell that had come since the McKinley Bill and were due to it. (applause) He said that the Democrats were attempting to stir up class feeling and to array labor against capital, "which", he said,"I consider utterly unsound; and as practical men I ask you to look at the question from a practical standpoint. They appeal to prejudice in the hope that they may get the employed to vote against the employer. But there certainly can be no satisfaction in the employed injuring the employer, for he suffers most.

It is a poor business to bite off your nose in order to spite your face." (applause)

Dr. Everett questions whether it is a campaign of principles or of persons -

Chelsea--Dr. Wm. Everett was received with a perfect thunder of applause. He spoke on

The Cause of Good Government.

Wages in the Protective Countries.

"It has been said that this is a campaign of principles and not of candidates, and so it is; but when a candidate's record differs materially from his present utterances it becomes then in a specific sense a campaign of candidates."

When They Come into Power.

"Beaten in argument, beaten in the drift of public sentiment, what do they depend upon to carry the election this time?" Dr. Everett pauses and put his hand into his pocket. The audience roared. He continued:

"They depend upon boodle, upon soap, upon fat. The manufacturers are to be remunerated by higher taxes, and so they will go on piling mountain upon mountain, and the result will be a social revolution unless it is checked. If they succeed in preventing us from obtaining our rights by the ballot, then heaven only knows what the ultimate consequences may be.

At the conclusion of his speech the doctor took his seat amid a perfect storm of applause.

When a Republican talks in his sleep -

Democrats of Peabody.

Congressman Williams among others:

"If you could stand by the bedside of your sleeping Republican friend some time this week, and if his mind wandered upon politics in his slumbers, you would not hear him talk the tariff, of finance, or monetary questions; there is but one form of expression that would indicate his hope and confidence for Tuesday next, and that is: 'Can we raise money enough to beat the Democrats?'" (applause)

Governor Russell at Fitchburg

Speaks to an enthusiastic crowd. Is constantly cheered. Towards the close of a lengthy discourse:

"It is time they (Republicans) began to repent on the tariff question; for just as surely as the conscience and interests of this commonwealth, her love of justice and of liberty, repudiated Lodge force bills and Sherman silver bills, so do they also repudiate the McKinley tariff bill which was conceived in selfishness, bought and paid for by the corruption fund of its beneficiaries who have received enormous profits wrung from the tariff of the people. This bill distinctly and emphatically threatens the institutions of our country and the liberties of our people." (Tremendous applause).

A campaign of thoughtfulness--lacking noise and excitement -

Cleveland Speaks.

Addresses New York business men. When he was escorted to the platform men waved their hats, and small American flags fluttered from the hands of women in the boxes. Mr. Cleveland bowed repeatedly in acknowledgment. The cheering was renewed vigorously when he was introduced. He said:

"I venture the assertion that never in the recollection of anyone here present has a presidential campaign been carried on with such a lack of noise and excitement, and in such an apparent atmosphere of popular thoughtfulness. . . . If we assume that the quiet of this campaign is attributable also to thoughtfulness among our people and a deliberate sense of patriotic duty in the exercise of their suffrages, there would seem to be no place for fear or misgiving as to the result on the part of those who support Democratic principles. .

It must be conceeded, too, that the intelligent and disinterested men who have left the ranks of our opponents and joined our standard are exceptionably numerous and influential. With all these things in our favor we are still not absolutely sure of success; this would be startling if we did not know the desperate and disreputable methods which confront us."

. . .

At the close a large number of the audience jumped to the platform and tried to get to the ex-President. Chairs were upset, and people were almost trampling on each other. At last, by the aid of six policemen, Mr. Cleveland escaped to his carriage.

Suggests at least lack of animosity -

The Torchlight Procession.

Is to take place the third. A great many from the Democratic party will take part. It gives the latter an opportunity for a marching lark that their own party denies them, and they will have their share of fun without regard to politics. It will be the grand pageant of a campaign that has not been too lively in other respects, and we wish those concerned in it favorable weather for its enjoyment.

Notorious "Pay" Envelopes.

New Haven, Conn. Nov. 3--In 1888 the workmen of every large corporation in the state were paid off in the notorious "pay" envelopes, which have on their face the warning "Vote for Cleveland and your wages will be reduced". The Herald was told that there are 10,000 floaters--men whose votes can be bought in the state of Connecticut.

New York--Dr. Everett spoke before the Dry Goods Democratic Club at New York. He aroused his audience to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and almost every period was punctuated with applause.

(Editorial) Judge Greshams has not become a Democrat, but he proposes to vote for the Democratic nominee for the presidency. There are thousands of just such men as he who will be heard from next Tuesday.

Cheers, Hisses, and Yells.

Wild Scenes at a McEttrick Rally in South Boston.

The exhibition of political hoodlumism at Washington Hall should call for condemnation from every good-thinking Democrat. Candidates for Congress spoke, the Independent Democrats and the regular Democrats.

The McNary constituents persisted in giving cheers for McNary and interrupted every speaker with questions; and in one or two cases they indulged in personal and insulting remarks. At times pandemonium reigned and the noise of cheers and intermingled hisses was almost deafening.

Lodge charges his opponents with dealing in personalities -

Senator Lodge, at Chelsea, presented arguments to the Cordage workers. He had a great ovation and spoke as follows:

"I have been sorry to notice that in these closing days of the campaign our Democratic friends are breaking through the excellent rule which obtained at the beginning, that this was not to be a campaign of personality. It seems to me a great mistake, and I am certain that it is equally to our advantage to have them do it."

"I have found it possible to argue the case of my party before the people of Massachusetts without entering into personalities at all; and it seems to me that it must be a poor cause which demands any different treatment."

"I do not believe that the people of Massachusetts will mistake abuse for argument, and I think that those who indulge in it insult the intelligence of their audience. I shall, therefore, talk to you tonight about the measures upon which you are to vote, without reference to the individuals who happen to be running for office in this state.

Blazing Torchlights.

"Republican" was attached to each handle. The procession was about an hour passing a given point.

. . .

Enthusiasm ran riot the moment the great procession started. The policemen had difficulty scattering the crowds but they did it all good naturedly, and the crowds stood the jostling with a good spirit.

Mentions a disgraceful scene on Washington Street, near Dover. A colored man, of the Parkman Guards, intoxicated, provoked a quarrel with a boy about twelve years old, who stood in the crowd watching the parade. Other colored men in the Guards assisted the colored parader. Young hoodlums assisted the lad. Several bystanders were hurt.

Tammany's Enthusiasm.

Mr. O. Donohue was forced by the cheering to stop speaking a moment. When he had an opportunity to go on he said: "Our appeal to the American people is based on their intelligence and education. We do not seek victory based on prejudice." . During the reading of a letter from Hon. Richard Crocker, there were frequent bursts of applause.

Nov. 5--Many arrests in New York for illegal registration.

Great Enthusiasm.

Cleveland speaks in Jersey City. Review of short-comings of Republicans.

Mr. Cleveland showed plainly in the unusual affability of his smiles and hand shakes, in an unusual toleration of interrupting cheers, that he appreciated the fervid spirit that was behind the multitudes thronging about him.

. . .

The cheering in the low ceilinged rink was tremendous and overpowering as they walked up the aisles. While Mr. Cleveland on the platform was shaking hands with the vice-presidents, the crowd cheered until it was compelled to stop for breath.

The chairman endeavored to silence the crowd. His efforts being in vain, three other gentlemen of the committee stood beside him, and all four waved their outstretched hands in unison. The crowd simply timed their cheering to the hand beating.

At last the chairman arose without an introduction and was well on in his speech before his voice could be heard. He closed by introducing Mr. Cleveland. Again the cheering broke forth and would not be restrained, although several of the committee joined in their efforts to quiet the people.

With Strident Yells.

The Democratic Club of Harvard College held a splendid rally in Tremont Temple last evening. The Temple was crowded, and the infectious enthusiasm of the students was communicated to the whole audience.

Wild Cheers of Welcome.

Russell and Carlisle speak to Boston's Democracy. The mighty throng surged and swayed in thunderous demonstration of its approbation as point after point in favor of the Democratic state and national platform rang forth in thrilling tones from the various speakers of the evening.

Reed Speaks in New York.

Before the Republican Club. A great crowd, at Cooper Hall, cheers him again and again. Every inch of space was occupied. The crowd outside was larger than that inside. It was a wildly enthusiastic crowd. Mr. Reed had to stand there several minutes before the crowd would stop cheering him and telling him he was all right.

Turbulent Scenes.

Battle with words at a Prohibition Rally in Somerville.

The hottest rally in the political history of Somerville was held in Clarendon Hall last evening. Mr. Hamlin, Prohibition candidate for governor, made a vigorous attack on the opposing parties. Mingled hisses, cheers, and approbation were followed by interruptions. A number arose and agreed with the speaker; some argued. Finally Democrats and Republicans talked back and forth across the hall.

. . .

"You Republicans want our candidate to withdraw. Do you suppose we care who helps us out of the hole?"(Democratic applause, and hisses from the other side). (The chairman remonstrated). "Let them hiss! If that is their natural language, let them indulge in it!"

Harvard Republicans not so enthusiastic as Democrats -

Harvard College Republican rally in Tremont Temple last evening was not up to the mark in point of enthusiasm. The audience was a cultured one; but the speeches in the main were dry and prosy, and only at times was there any excuse for applause. This did not apply to the vigorous remarks of Rev. Edward Everett Hale, who presided. "His remarks in denunciation of the Democratic party were severe. It was a bloody-shirt speech, and behind the times as compared with what is said even by men of his party on the stump today. "

The Campaign of 1892.

Characteristics.

"I have found it possible to argue the case of my party before the people of Massachusetts without entering into personalities at all; and it seems to me that it must be a poor cause which demands any different treatment." Senator Lodge

"A campaign of thoughtfulness--lacking noise and excitement. President Cleveland

Emotion.

Crowd enthusiasm at rallies. People almost trampling one another to see President Cleveland.

Cheers, hisses, yells, at other rallies.

Torchlight enthusiasm.

Intimidation of workmen's vote.

Intelligence.

The above remark of Senator Lodge would indicate evidence of reason, control.

The same may be true of the remark of Mr. O. Donohue, at Tammany Hall:

"Our appeal to the American people is based on their intelligence and education. We do not seek victory based on prejudice."

Summary.

These last two appeals doubtless reflect public opinion. The fact that a new party of the people, the Populist party, was formed and polled 1,556, 886 votes showed that the working man was thinking and making an endeavor to alter conditions. The crowd excitement was evident, although it was due to desire for thrill rather than to prejudice.

The Campaign of 1896.

The Free Silver Campaign.

"The contest of 1896 was one of the sharpest, most memorable, and for a brief season the most doubtful, of all that have taken place since the election of Lincoln, in 1860."[1]

Cleveland's administration was remarkable for its dealing with the Hawaian situation and the affair between Great Britain and Venezuela. "Had not domestic questions quite overshadowed all matters of foreign policy, and left the administration without a party to support it, this grand success, giving the Monroe doctrine both a wider scope and a stronger legal standing than ever before, must have played a great part in the election of 1896."[2]

The issue that crowded out all others was the silver question--- the "difference of opinion in regard to money, and the panic of 1893, its cause and cure."[3] There were "gold" advocates and free silver advocates in each party. The results of the great national conventions were surprising, although the intensity of public feeling on the silver question was great. "Never before were conventions so inharmonious, and never were there so many "splits" and "bolts" in parties."[4]

"The campaign morks a turning point in the course of American politics. The real conflict was not over the remonetization of silver or the gold standard. Deep underlying class feeling found its expression in the conventions of both parties, and particularly that of the Democrats, and forced upon the attention of the country,

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[1] Stanwood, Edward. History of the Presidency. Vol. 1. p. 526

[2] Stanwood, Edward. p. 520

[3] Mace, William H. A School History of the United States. p. 414

[4] Stanwood, Edward. p. 528

in a dramatic manner, a conflict between great wealth and the lower middle and working classes, which had hitherto been recognized only in obscure circles."[1]

"At the Republican convention twenty-one delegates from the silver states left the party. When the Democrats declared for free silver coinage, a large number of "gold" Democrats left the party. The "silver" Republicans and a majority of the People's party supported Bryan, while thousands of "gold" Democrats favored McKinley."[2]

> "Gold Democrats bolted one way, Silver Republicans the other; Populists came over to Bryan. Apart from the solid South and the mining interests, it was a clean-cut radical-conservative contest, with the first real issue in thirty years. And the new cause had an ideal leader in the 'boy orator of the Platte':
>
> Prairie avenger, mountain lion,
> Bryan, Bryan, Bryan, Bryan,
> Gigantic troubadour, speaking like a siege gun,
> Smashing Plymouth Rock with its boulders from the West."[3]

William J. Bryan, by his famous 'cross of gold' speech, had a tremendous effect upon the Democratic convention. "Never in the history of convention oratory had a speaker so swayed the passions of his auditors, and so quickly made himself 'the man of the hour'."[4]

> "The campaign which followed the conventions was the most remarkable in the long history of our quadrennial spectacles. Terror is always a powerful instrument in politics, and it was never used with greater effect than in the summer and autumn of 1896." [5] Mr. Bryan "frightened the rich into believing, or pretending to believe, that his election would be the beginning of a wholesale confiscation.
>
> "The Republicans used the term of unemployment with tremendous effect. The Democrats responded 'by stirring deep-seated class feeling against the Republican candidate and his managers." [5]

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[1] Beard, C. A. p. 164 Contemporary American History.

[2] Mace, William H. p. 414 A School History of the United States.

[3] Morrison, S. E. p. 406 Oxford History of the United States. Vol. II

[4] Beard, C. A. p. 194

[5] Beard, C. A. p. 194

The opinion of the English historian, S. E. Morrison, is interesting. He gives an idea of the anziety of the Republicans and the methods used to effect a victory:

> "Radical only on the coinage issue, strictly orthodox in matters of morality and religion, Bryan was an honest, emotional crusader for humanity, with the forensic fervour, political shrewdness, and the intellectual limitations that would have made him a great statesman in the age of Clay and Jackson. His object was to reform government and curb privilege, not to reconstruct society; but McKinley stressed the 'danger to our institutions' in the Democratic platform. Bryan did not 'propose to transfer the rewards of industry to the lap of indolence', but his victory would, in effect, transfer power from the Middle West and North-East to the Far West and the South. In all the hundreds of speeches delivered during his 'whirlwind tour" of thirteen thousand miles there was no appeal to class hatred; but his followers were full of it, and 'Pitchfork' Tillman of South Carolina called upon the people to throw off their bondage to a money power more insolent than the slave power.
>
> "American business, fearing for its privileges, (government regulation and curbing of privilege) acted as if the Hun were at the gates. The New York Tribune denounced 'the wretched, rattle-pated boy, posing in vapid vanity and mouthing resounding rottenness'. Mark Hanna assessed metropolitan banks, insurance companies, and railway corporations for colossal campaign contributions. (The silver mining interests were equally generous subsidizers of the Democrats, according to their ability.) Employees were ordered to vote for McKinley on pain of dismissal, and their fears aroused by the prospect of receiving wages in depreciated dollars.
>
> "On Wall Street there was even talk of an Eastern secession, if Bryan should win. Never before or since has there been so stirring a campaign, or such heavy balloting in proportion to the population. Bryan carried the late Confederacy and most of the Far West; but the heavy electoral votes of the populous East and Middle West gave McKinley an emphatic victory.
>
> "It was at once the last protest of the old agrarian order against industrialism, and the first attempt of the new order to clean house. Bryan was the bridge between Jackson and Roosevelt." 1

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1 Morrison, S. E. Oxford History of the United States. Vol. II p. 406

Charles A. Beard expresses himself concerning the personal abuse used by the parties. He mentions the attitude of the Tribune as does Morrison:

> "It must not be presumed that it was merely a battle of wits, and that demagogic appeals to passions which were supposed to be associated with Mr. Bryan's campaign were confined to his partisans. On the contrary, the Republicans employed all of the forms of personal vituperation. For example, that staid journal of Republicanism, the New York Tribune, attributed the growth of Bryanism to the 'assiduous culture of the basest passions of the least worthy member of the community. . . Its nominal head was worthy of the cause. Nominal because the wretched, rattle-pated boy, posing in vapid vanity and mouthing resounding rottenness, was not the real leader of that league of hell. He was only a puppet in the blood-imbued hands of Altgeld, the anarchist, and Debs, the revolutionist, and other desperadoes of that stripe. But he was a willing puppet, Bryan was,---willing and eager. None of his masters was more apt than he at lies and forgeries and blasphemies and all the nameless iniquities of that campaign against the Ten Commandments.'" 1

> "That such high talk by those who constituted themselves the guardians of public credit, partiotism, and the Ten Commandments was not calculated to sooth the angry passions of their opponents needs no demonstration here."

> "Arguments party organization and machinery, the lavish use of money, and terror won the day for the Republicans."2

An "educational campaign":

> "The Republicans relied on a 'campaign of education', but both sides scattered cartoons and documents broadcast. The returns showed that party lines had been abandoned everywhere and that sections had voted solidly for the candidate that seemed to champion their interests."3

> "An 'educational campaign' was carried on with a seriousness never before approached in our history, and resulted in the election of McKinley." 4

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1 Beard, Charles A. Contemporary American History. p. 196

2 Beard, Charles A. p. 197

3 Ashley, R. L. American History. The Macmillan Co. 1927. p. 482

4 MacMaster, John Bach. A School History of the United States. New York: American Book Co. 1897. p. 473

Haworth's summary:

> "Few campaigns have been so animated. Bryan swept through many States, travelling over 18,000 miles and speaking to probably 5,000,000 people. McKinley remained at his home in Canton and greeted enthusiastic delegations from all over the Union. His managers, in particular 'Mark' Hanna, hoisted on high the 'full dinner pail' to catch the labor vote, and, by picturing the dangers of free silver and free trade, succeeded in collecting from manufacturers and others the pargest campaign fund ever gathered. Bryan and his lieutenants also raised a considerable fund, and they managed to arouse wild enthusiasm in the West. But they were handicapped by the burden of hard times under Democratic rule, and a majority of the voters took the view that the country would be more prosperous under the Republicans.
>
> . . . .
>
> The election thus closed had been far more than a mere struggle over a metallic standard. For the first time on a large scale since Andrew Jackson's day, there had been something approaching a class alignment. The prominence given the money question had served to obscure more serious ills from which the country was suffering. By striving to establish a doubtful economic principle the free-silver advocates unwittingly postponed many much-needed reforms. "[1]

He agrees with Theodore Roosevelt, in his Autobiography:

> "The fear of Mr. Bryan threw almost all the leading men of all classes into the arms of whoever opposed him. . Good and high-minded men of conservative temperament in their panic played into the hands of the ultra-reactionaries of business and politics. The alliance between the two kinds of privilege, political and financial, was closely cemented; and wherever there was any attempt to break it up, the cry was at once raised that this merely represented another phase of the assault on national honesty and individual and mercantile integrity. As so often happens, the excesses and threats of an unwise and extreme radicalism had resulted in immensely strengthening the position of the beneficiaries of reaction."[2]

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[1] Haworth, Paul L. p. 230

[2] Haworth p. 231

New York Daily Tribune, 1896.

HOW BRYAN TALKS.

New York--Oct. 1--It is seldom that he mentions the name of the man he wishes to assail; but it is perfectly clear whom he is denouncing. . . He concludes with a descriptive phrase that is unmistakable. The effect is never lost. Later, and apparently in a perfectly incidental way, he mentions the name of the man he has just assailed, and at once the hisses break forth. Then his features are distorted with an expression of extreme pain that indicates his displeasure, and is intended to express heartful regret at the display of any personal animosity. Just such an instance may be found in Mr. Bryan's reference to ex-President Harrison in his speech at Tammany Hall last Tuesday evening. It was nicely done but it could deceive nobody.

. . .

He is skilful in suggesting the desired answer before asking the question.

Lights turned out during opposing speech:

Richmond, Va.--Oct 5--Ex-President Harrison addressed about 5000 at the Auditorium Building on the Exposition Grounds. He was cordially received by the audience. There were many Bryan men in the audience. About nine o'clock the electric lights went out suddenly, as they did when Mr. Bryan spoke in the same place recently. For about five minutes the building was in total darkness, and General Harrison remarked that the Republican party did not need so much light as its opponents.

Class feeling: Also evidence of thinking among laboring class:

Mr. Roosevelt's Cheering Report.

Among the most ignorant of the laboring people at places I visited I noticed that the Bryan speakers had imbued them with the spirit that anything was wrong which the rich people believed to be right; but among the thinking laboring people there is a strong and unmistakable McKinley feeling.

Sections and classes:

It is time to exterminate the detestable spirit which is endeavoring to convert this into a land of sections and classes. And, therefore, it is time to overwhelm Mr. William Jennings Bryan and all he represents in hopeless defeat.

Views of a Sound-Money Democrat.

Oct. 7--Smith M. Weed, of Plattsburgh, the well-known Democrat, does not think Mr. Bryan's election would be a good thing, and he is heartily against the Chicago ticket. . . "The people of this state are not for free silver. When it comes down to actual voting the Democrat who believes in sound money will vote for McKinley."

The Combat Deepens.

Oct. 7--The combat deepens with extroadinary suddenness and velocity.

1. There was a prediction in "The New York Journal" in very large type that Illinois would go for Bryan by a mojority so tremendous that it would be difficult to realize that anybody else was in it. The effect was terrifying to the Republicans--about the same degree that it was inspiring to the Bryan wing of the Democrats. Just about.

2. The same issue explained the rise in the price of wheat to the fact that Mark Hanna had used four or five of the millions at his disposal to advance the price in wheat, as he had attributed its previous low price to the demonetization of silver.

3. In New Haven, Connecticut, the fervor manifested itself in an interruption of a Republican meeting by the supporters of Bryan, with the unanswerable argument of stale eggs and other missiles.

4. Preston, Conn.--A Republican flag-raising was interrupted by stone-throwing and a general uproar. Organized efforts appear to have made the Democrats attempt to break up anti-Bryan meetings at St. Louis, when Bourke Cockran was delivering an address; at Richmond, Va. while ex-President Harrison was speaking; at Chicago at the stock-yards, when General Grosvenor, of Ohio, was making a speech at a Republican meeting, and at many other places.

Other signs of an awakening interest in the Bryan cause, is trouble among the Bryan supporters:

In Georgia, one of the leaders has publicly denounced another leader as a liar and a coward, and a duel is expected to result. In New York Leader Scannell, in a congressional convention, calls another leader a liar and approaches him with clenched fists.

Further sign most convincing:

Truman, in an address to Democratic voters of New York State says that the party has been deserted by everybody who is anybody; that the world's monopolists are all against us; that even ministers of the gospel oppose Bryan, and that the daily press of the country, controlled by the moneyed interests, is in the conspiracy.

In addition he says that the Bryan party has not a cent to do business with. Truman appeals for money and says, "it is a fight to the death upon which depends the happiness or unhappiness of the down-trodden the world over", and a great many other stirring things which ought to arouse enthusiasm.

Farmers Call on McKinley.

Canton, Ohio--Oct 8--Four delegations from three states visit Canton. Four addressed made. Glee Club sang and a number of humorous campaign songs.

Mr. McKinley made strong pleas for cultivation of a broad national spirit.

Made a speech to comrads of the war:

"As in those days there were no Democrats and no Republicans, but all patriots; so this year I bid you obliterate party lines and old party distinctions and unite in sustaining the country and the laws of the country and stand for the maintenance of law and order, the public tranquility and return of a policy that will take care of the American workshops and the American market, and will defend it against the workshops and markets of the Old World. (Vociferous cheering).

Cooper Union--A few Bryanites present made counter-demonstrations to some of the Sound Money cheers.

Losing Temper.

It does not do Mr. Bryan any good to berate Sound Money Democrats, nor to have "Coin" Harvey insult Generals Sickles, Alger, Howard, and other loyal veterans as "old wrecks of the Rebellion, who have

lost all their honor and patriotism and are tools of political Shylocks". No wonder the G. A. R. men in his audience and at Clinton, Iowa, broke up the meeting and wanted to throw him into the street; nor for Mr. Sheehan, the Tammany leader, to denounce the National Democrats as traitors, and declare that no man can remain a member of Tammany Hall who does not do his best for Bryan. . .

"The great army of hesitating voters never tends toward the men who get mad and assail their opponents and show that they are stricken unto death.

Women's reaction to the issue:

Silver and Gold Discussed.

The Women's Political Study Club began its season's work yesterday. Dr. Hulda Gunn read a paper on a"very current topic," she said--namely, "free coinage". She said that the salvation of America was in silver. It was a very able paper. Mrs. Morton was Dr. Gunn's nominal opponent in the discussion to follow. But the liveliest set-to was between Mrs. Morton and a member from the floor. Mrs. Morton happened to say that those who wish to have silver coined had to take one hundred cents to the Treasury for every dollar that they procured. The member flatly asserted the contrary.

"They don't," she said.
"They do," retorted Mrs. Morton.

Here the club burst into laughter. Soon these two were laughing also.

Secretary Morton gives his opinion of the possibility of coercion:

He speaks of the Chicago parade. It took five and one-half hours for it to pass. There were about 100,000 people in it. He hardly thought it possible to extend coercion so far as to induce them all to keep up a continuous yelling and cheering for McKinley. The side-walk crowd were in sympathy and kept up the cheering and yelling. It was a parade of the intelligent men of Chicago. There were hundreds from Marshall Field's and many hundreds from Armour's.

Warner Miller Cheered.

Chief Orator at the McKinley League

Mass-Meeting.

Oct. 20--It was plain from the start that the men and women who climbed up several long flights of stairs to hear the speeches had not come out of mere curiosity, but were much in earnest. They cheered Warner Miller until he was forced to make the request that he be allowed to proceed with less demonstration. They also gave hearty applause for the other men on the platform.

The West Side Colored Republican Club held a rousing meeting. . . "All the speakers were listened to with the greatest attention and were constantly interrupted by applause."

A Noisy Meeting at Cooper Union.

. . . The hisses and cheers at the name of Bryan were of about equal strength and the police curbed the preceedings. The meeting was held under the joint auspices of the Democratic Honest Money League, and the Wage Earner's Patriotic League. And although Colonel J. E. Bloom, president of the latter body, sat in the chair, his rulings were as chalf before the gale. The hall was filled with shouters of all shades of opinion. Major John Byrne, President of the Democratic Honest Money League, was demolinging the Chicago platform when a breezy person in the rear of the hall jumped on a chair and shouted for the privilege of asking a question. A cordon of police surrounded him, and against the protests of Major Byrne rushed him out.

"You have seen tonight by the disorderly conduct of the Populists," said the Major, who had become excited under prolonged irritation, as a Parthian shot, "what the condition of the country would be if they obtained the control of the Government.

Oct. 27--The literary productions of the Democratic Campaign Committee, during the week just past, have led the Republicans to believe that in the final days of the election an output of matter calculated to arouse prejudice' too late to have it stayed, may be looked for.

Women Discuss History.

Oct.28--An Interesting Meeting at the Political Study Club.

Landlords Try Coercion.

Oct. 29--William Crosier threatened that unless Mrs. Dee removed the pictures of McKinley and Hobart from her windows he would dispossess her. He raised the rent; then ordered her to vacate in five days. One hundred men congregated about the house. A large number of boys marched up and down in front shouting for McKinley.

One Connor entered a flat rented by him to a family named Neal, and removed the picture of McKinley while the family were absent.

The Silent Vote.

Oct. 30--The silent vote will be more important this year than it has been for a long time. . . There have been more speeches, more arguments, and more extensive distribution of documents and tracts than in any previous campaign.

. . . . . .

Reasons for concealment of the way people will vote:

Opposition to silver coinage by one who has favored it excites, in some localities, the most savage feeling, and involves risk of injury in business or work, or even of personal violence. Everywhere the man who breaks from his usual associates has something to bear in times of passion.

Lively in the Tenderloin.

Nov. 1--A large truck with a band and pictures of Bryan and Sewall drew up on the front side of the Fifth Avenue Hotel. Speakers at the end of the truck began to talk free silver. A crowd of Republicans from the Blaine Club opposite marched in a body to the truck and proceeded to hoot at the speakers. Forty police restored quiet.

The Republicans secured a lot of packing cases and erected

a stand in front of the Blaine Club, and a McKinley meeting was soon in progress. Then the Bryanites hooted down the Republicans, and the police had more trouble.

Trouble at the Bartholdi.

The Democratic State Committee had its headquarters at the Hotel. A Republican hung from the balcony of his room a picture twelve feet long and seven feet wide of McKinley and Hobart. He refused to take it down. . A story of tussle and threat to shoot if the men who came to his room to remove the picture did not go. Finally, at the request of the landlord, who stated that it meant financial disadvantage to him, (the owner) the Republican removed the picture.

Awaiting the Verdict.

Chicago, Nov. 3-- . . The business men of Chicago are today in the position of the man who is about to go under a surgical operation, the success of which is practically assured, but in which the slightest slip of the knife means death.

The interest in the result throughout the city is intense. It far surpasses anything that has marked previous campaigns. It reaches into every circle of society. Men who have been indifferent and listless all their lives are roused now for the first time to a sense of their responsibility as citizens. Never before has the result of an election been awaited with such feverish interest.

Chicago is ready to turn the hose on silverites who are expected to interfere at the 900 voting precincts of the city.

Let us all join hands to make the majority against Bryanism, Populism, Repudiation and Anarchism absolutely overwhelming.

Remember, remember

The Third of November,

Anarchy, stealing, and plot!

There is no good reason

Why Popocrat treason

Ever should be forgot!

Enthusiastic Crowds at the Theatres.

When peopleare excited they generally prefer a light form of amusement. Returns were given at the theatres. The returns which favored McKinley were received with ringing applause and cheers, while those which favored Bryan, what few there were of them, drew a little scattering applause and almost enough hisses to drown it.

The Campaign of 1896.

Characteristics

"One of the sharpest, most memorable contests since 1860. Stanwood

"Few campaigns have been so animated." Haworth

"Terror is always a powerful instrument in politics, and it was never used with greater effect than in the summer and autumn of 1896." C. A. Beard

Emotion.

Deep underlying class feeling.

"Splits" and "bolts" in parties, based partly on fear; also partly due to thoughtful decision.

Terror, the keynote.

Personal abuse used by both sides.

The press also abusive, even so-called staid papers.

Crowd demonstrations noisy. Some egg throwing, and other missiles. All reflecting discontent.

Tendency to interrupt meetings.

Intelligence.

Party bolts which were the result of due consideration rather than of class feeling.

Evidence of much thinking among the laboring people, was Mr. Roosevelt's opinion. They were capable of forming their own decision as to whether "anything which the rich people believed to be right, must be wrong."

It was called an "educational campaign". "The Republicans relied on a campaign of education. But both sides scattered cartoons and documents broadcast." (Haworth)

"An educational campaign was carried on with a seriousness never before approached in our history." (MacMasters)

Summary. Sydney Brooks's impression of '96 is significant:

"Americans go to rallies to applaud rather than to challenge." But-- "In the N.Y. parade there was not a single jeer."

It is hopeful that the campaign of "education" was not lost on the working man.

The Campaign of 1900.

(Imperialism)

By 1900 the United States was enjoying great prosperity. That fact eliminated the silver question. But Bryan, who expected to be the Democratic candidate, issued a manifesto opposing "imperialism". With that, the disposition of the Philippines became the political issue of the campaign of 1900. The Republicans charged that, seeing that free silver was unpopular, the Democratic leaders injected "imperialism" as a new issue into politics, for that was their only hope.

There had been opposition on the part of many in regard to the right course to pursue in the Philippines. But Rudyard Kipling's poem had a powerful influence toward the decision to retain the islands. It "stripped the imperial vocation of its tinsel and glitter, and revealed it as a necessary but thankless task to be performed by the white race under the restraints of conscience."[1]

"Take up the White Man's burden--
Send forth the best ye breed--
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttering folk and wild--
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

. . . . . .

Take up the White Man's burden--
Ye dare not stoop to less--
Nor call too loud on Freedom
To cloak your weariness.
By all ye will or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent sullen peoples
Shall weigh your God and you."

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[1] Haworth, Paul L. The United States in our Own Times. P. 261.

The Democrats contended, as did Gladstone in regard to Irish home rule, that the pursuit of an unfair policy in the Philippines would result in the destruction of liberty at home. Many Republicans also were dissatisfied with our course; "but the suppression of the political rights of the Southern negroes by Democrats did not harmonize well with their enthusiasm for Filipino independence."[1]

The Democrats' demand for free silver lost them many votes; for it developed that the "sentiment in the extreme and the middle West was in favor of free coinage in 1896, but was far less strong in 1900."[2] Thousands of Republicans, therefore, returned to their party. Likewise, many Democrats in the East who had voted the Republican ticket to maintain the Gold Standard were eager to return to their own party, and took the "paramount" issue, imperialism, or other issues, as an excuse.

"The canvass of the year 1900 was characterized by no unusual excitement." It resembled 1896 in that McKinley and Bryan ran again. McKinley was unanimously nominated. Theodore Roosevelt had gained much popularity from his part in preparing the navy for the War with Spain. Also, as governor of New York, his "vigorous course" had increased his reputation, and had at the same time offended "certain great corporations and the Republican boss of the State, Senator Thomas C. Platt."[3] Neither he nor McKinley nor Marcus Hanna desired his (Roosevelt's) nomination as vice-President; but he received a unanimous vote

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[1] Haworth, Paul L. p. 265

[2] Stanwood, Edward. Vol. II. p. 73

[3] Haworth p. 263

at the convention, and"bowed to the will of the people."[1] His friends and enemies supposed that he was "shelved politically", as far as the possibility of ever becoming President was concerned.

Doubtless our attention was diverted from the campaign by graver events abroad--the Boxer uprising, and the Boer War.Also the terrible catastrophe at Galveston made more impression on the people than the choice between two candidates--a decision that had caused an unusual amount of excitement in 1896.

> "The leading feature of the canvass was the activity of Mr. Bryan on the part of the Democrats, and of Mr. Roosevelt in behalf of the Republicans. Mr. Roosevelt was credited with having made six hundred and seventy-three speeches in twenty-four states. Mr. Bryan's statistics cannot be given, but there were few days when no audiences gathered to hear him, and his travels must have been quite as extensive as those of Mr. Roosevelt."[2]

> "As usual, Bryan swept through many states, speaking to immense audiences, but he met an equally determined campaigner in Roosevelt, who aroused great enthusiasm wherever he went. Senator Hanna managed the Republican campaign with skill, and by hoisting on high "the full dinner pail" as the emblem of Republican prosperity, he won many labor votes." [3]

A brief and interesting resume of the situation is given by S. E. Morrison:

> "The Democrats again demanded free silver, but prosperity had blunted their arguments, and the 'full dinner pail' emblem of proletarian affluence was a potent electioneering slogan for the Republicans. 'Imperialism' was the leading issue. Bryan proposed to wind up America's oriental adventure by handing over the Philippines to the Filipinos; McKinley insisted that his country should shoulder the white man's burden for an indefinite period. Mark Hanna managed the

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[1] Haworth, Paul L. p. 263

[2] Stanwood, Edward. Vol. II. p. 73

[3] Haworth p. 265

campaign with his usual efficiency, and took the stump with Roosevelt, whose reluctant candidacy for the vice-Presidency strengthened his running-mate. McKinley and Roosevelt were elected by a heavy majority. The Republican party had a clear mandate to preserve the new American Empire." 1

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1 Morrison, S. E. p. 424

The Boston Evening Transcript, 1900.

Throughout the canvass Governor Roosevelt made numerous speeches for the Republican party; Bryan made his own speeches. "Imperialism" came in for consideration, as is seen in the first two items following. Throughout New York Roosevelt often met with disagreeable demonstrations from hoodlums.

> Rochester, New York, Oct. 31--Governor Roosevelt speaks. "Mr. Bryan invokes the declaration of independence as applying to the Filipinos. Nebraska was aquired by Thomas Jefferson, without the consent of the Indians in it, and he ought to have known how to apply the declaration of independence because he wrote it."
>
> At Holly: "Mr. Bryan speaks of polygamy in the Sulu Islands, and says it ought to be stopped. But his proposal to establish a protectorate over those islands would guarantee both slavery and polygamy in Sulu."

Daily disturbance -

> The daily disturbance came to Governor Roosevelt yesterday at Geneva, where some roughs tried, by cries of "Bryan", to break up a meeting. His reception there was otherwise enthusiastic, and at Corning and Rochester were throngs of applauding people.

Appeal to Honest Democrats.

> They were asked by the Democratic Honest Money League of America to stand by their country, and to sustain the grand Democratic principle bequeathed to us by our fathers--honest money alone, as represented in this campaign by McKinley and Roosevelt.

Principle above party -

> "For to insure success every man, particularly every young man, who has a pride in his country and a lofty purpose in life, must be interested in presenting to the world a high character for intelligence, integrity, commercial and financial honor and stability, conditions absolutely necessary with a people as with individuals to insure success."

The speech shows, further, the appeal on the basis of prosperity-

> "New York is in a position to become the money center of the world. We must reverse the vote of 1896 given by Tammany Hall, when a stain was put on this great city by 135,000 men casting their votes for Bryan and free silver. Their act did more than anything else to prolong depression for some time after the election."

Considered bo be an appeal to class feeling-- Shows discontent--

Campaign Comment.

> In regard to a remark made by Bryan: "I believe that one of the reasons that they want a large army for is to build a fort near each city and use the army to suppress by force that discontent that ought to be cured by legislation."

> Paper: "Such assertions as these stamp their author as both inconceivably base and stupid. No one with any regard for the truth could make such statements. They could proceed only from a warped and irresponsible mind. But one motive could dictate them--to inflame the passions of the multitude at the expense of honor and patriotism. At the moment, we cannot recall any incident in the entire history of the American people more execrable than this appeal of Bryan's to the basest element in our human nature. The wickedness and effrontery of the man are only equalled by his imbecility. Such statements cannot be made with impunity to an intelligent people, such as make up the population of the United States."

The fear of Bryan who represents the people's discontent-

> (New York Commercial Advertiser)--"The steadily increasing earnestness of the people is more and more manifest. People are 'fighting mad'. They have had all the Bryanism they can stand comfortable; and while they may still restrain themselves toward him they are in a dangerous condition of temper as to his apologists. These are healthy signs, for they foreshadow a large popular vote against Bryan."

An occasion for rough-housing--

College Students Parade.

> Captain Cain of Div. 4 took extraordinary precautions last night to prevent the Republican students' torchlight procession from breaking up in a fight. But the Harvard and Tech students met afterwards in a rush outside Walker Building.

> In the parade the Harvard students had a Law School tally-ho bearing the inscription,"Harvard Prohibition Club. Full Dinner Pails and Empty Bottles."

Democratic repeating in Denver, Colorado-- Also effort of right-thinking Democrats to suppress it:

> Denver--"Charges of corruption are flying thick and fast these days. So much interest are the police taking in the registration that on one occasion the United States marshal interfered with the repeaters, leading to a newspaper controversy for some days, and the statement of the always indiscreet governor, that "if the marshal interfered"he would see that every federal official was placed in the county jail. The sheriff of the county, himself a Democrat, has taken notice of the affair and directly charges the Democrats with fraudulent registration and threatens to stop the repeating on election day.

Many will change into the Republican ranks--showing better sentiment--less sectional feeling:

> Colorado--Senator Wolcott says: "There is a marvellous change of sentiment all over the state, and I had not supposed it to extend so generally into the mining counties. More people will vote the Republican ticket this year, and the old feelings of sectionalism and hate have almost disappeared."

Appeal to prosperity:

> Chicago--Some people who voted Democratic ticket in 1896 will now vote for McKinley as "they were doing excellently well under the Republican administration; the entire country was prosperous under McKinley; why change a good thing for an uncertainty."

Each side warns the other to look out for frauds and violence.

Campaign lacking in enthusiasm. Money and floaters--

Boasting in Indiana;

> "All through the summer and early fall the struggle here has lacked enthusiasm. But the near approach of the election changed all this. Both sides are putting forth great energy in this last week.
>
> Money is talking. The impression is that the party with the largest bank roll will carry the State. The uncertain political position of Indiana for many years has made permanent a floating vote which expects to be purchased every four years. This element is waiting for the inevitable visit of the local committeeman, who has come to Indianapolis in great numbers in the past few days, and who is

supposed to have gone home with large supplies of cash. Republicans early in the campaign paid out huge sums for Rough Rider uniforms and campaign paraphernalia of all sorts.

Each side is boasting that the largest vote will be theirs.

South Bend, Indiana, Nov. 1--Senator Hanna was escorted by a regiment of Rough Riders, headed by two bands. Most of the factories of the city were closed from 11.30 to 2 o'clock to enable employees to hear Senator Hanna.

Repeated indignation is expressed due to Crocker's advising the Democrats to throw election officers out of the polling booths, if the returns did not favor Bryan.

Roosevelt is impressed with the orderliness of the crowds--

Buffalo-"I never saw better order in such great crowds." . There was continuous ovation while he was in Buffalo.

"In the nation the paramount issue is Bryanism.
In the State " " " " Crockerism."

He felt that Crocker's methods did Bryan no good.

" . . Crocker said under oath that he is in politics for his pocket every time. I am not slandering Mr. Crocker, I am quoting him. . . Mr. Crocker has now twice in open statement incited the ignorant the violent and the lawless to open riot on election day. . .

Have these men (Crocker and Jones) forgotten the events of '63 and '94 in this state, when just such inflammatory statements led in Troy to the murder of one man at the polls, and to the execution of his murderer? Have these men forgotten that scores of election officers in '94 paid in prison the penalty of doing just the kind of thing which they now try to incite others to attempt?"

To Protect Negro Voters.

Louisville, Ky., Nov 2--Tells of Democrats getting negroes to play crap games and then having them arrested, in order to keep them from the polls. The Federal authorities are to prevent this as much as possible.

The following three articles dealing with crowd behavior are not complimentary:

> "Governor Roosevelt's experience at Elmira and Geneve is proof that hoodlumism is not limited to the newer towns of the wilder West. In all places where political processions are interfered with and public speakers are subjected to organized interruptions, the motive is fear for the effect of numbers or eloquence, on the side of the annoyers. Fortunately for fair politics such tactics react on those who follow them."
>
> Chicago, Nov. 2--"Senator Marcus A. Hanna Twelve times attempted to speak, to find that it was not meant that he should be heard. This lasted for forty-five minutes. At last Mr. Hanna, with the crowd worn out, "made them like it", as he expressed it, and made them listen." He talked for an hour. The ring-leaders in the disturbance were expelled by sixty-five policemen sent to the meeting on a riot call.
>
> Mr. Bryan in Chicago.
>
> The speaker's stand was near the public library, and he had to be dragged to the platform through the dense throng. . . A storm of cheering greeted him.
>
> . . .
>
> As he was leaving, three stale eggs were thrown at the first carriage where he was supposed to be. But the contents were spattered over three detectives, as Mr. Bryan was not in that carriage.

A communication to the Transcript from Washington comments on these activities as "not a pleasing sign of the times":

> Washington, Nov. 6--The article speaks of the strain of violence in various parts of the country:
>
> "The party record-keepers say that nothing quite like it has occurred in modern times, and that we are evidently copying from England one of the most obnoxious features of her domestic policics." . . .
>
> "Every hoodlum egg means a hundred votes for the other side."
>
> "The men who have received most of these compliments from the opposition have been those who have carried a needlessly strenuous atmosphere into their campaigning."

"It will be a sorry day when eggs and ice and stones permanently supplant more rational partisan arguments; and the publication in a leading New York newspaper of a picture of a wooden club, a half-apple, and an old shoe as relics of a reception given to Governor Roosevelt at Elmira is not a pleasing sign of the times."

. . .

"The brutal advice of boss Crocker to knock down this man and drag out that one at the polling-places, also shows that things are coming to a pretty pass."

As serious as these discourtesies are, one could not but feel hopeful for the situation in the United States on comparing it with that of England. An Englishman's impression of the campaign, sent to the Transcript at the time, has valuable significance. He considered that the average American voter had a higher degree of intelligence than the average Englishman, but was prone totake for granted the opinions of his party.

He spoke of attempts of American leaders to stimulate passions and prejudices; thought that Americans prefer to applaud rather than to consider both sides of a question.

American Electioneering.

An Englishman's Favorable Comment. Oct. 31

Sydney Brooks writes in the London Daily Chronicle.

(The way they do it in England):

"Every election sees a goodly percentage of heads broken, platforms stormed, speakers howled down, and meetings turned into riots. The spirit behind cabbages and rotten eggs and dead cats that used to come flying like bewildering meteors round the candidate's head in the good old days is alive and operative--in essence, at least.

" Yet we maintain that our crowds are the calmest in Europe, the most responsive to an appeal for "fair play". It may be so, compared with the rest of Europe. But the riotousness we put up with would not be tolerated for a minute in America!

. . .

"The working classes of America have a good deal to teach our own. The presidential campaign of 1896 may be taken as a fair specimen. The excitement of it was greater than at the bitterest moments of the fight for home rule, and for four solid months the most ingenious campaign managers in the world used every conceivable artifice to keep it up to the boiling point. Not a stimulus to passion and even violence was wanting. In point of invective the country was a magnified Ulster; the smallest village had its Bryan and McKinley clubs, its parades and torchlight processions, its mass meetings, and its rival wire-pullers to "boom things right along". Yet wherever I traveled along the Atlantic coast I found that speakers were listened to as courteously, and meetings conducted as free from interruptions as though nothing of greater moment were at hand than a gathering in aid of some local charity.

. . .

"When some Yale boys gathered at a meeting in New Haven and tried to compete with Mr. Bryan's resonant voice, nothing was more remarkable to an Englishman than the instant condemnation of these frolicsome undergraduates by public opinion everywhere, and by newspapers of every class and every shade of political thought. The ringleaders were "sent down", and the president of the university publicly apologized to Mr. Bryan for the discourtesy shown him. In England--but the contrast hardly needs laboring."

Mr. Brooks spoke of marching in the business men's parade in New York in the '96 campaign,

In it were the heads of every trade and every profession--"aristocrats" of Fifth Avenue, authors, etc. "All carried the stars and stripes and were decorated as to hat and buttonhole and coat with fantastic 'gold-bugs' and yellow ribands and badges, and portrait buttons of Mr. McKinley and Mr. Hobart. Not an inch of their persons but spoke of antagonism to Bryan and all his works. There was not a single jeer from the many thousands of spectators to interrupt our progress."

The courtesy at public meetings is remarkable,

"whether the speaker is a bore or a Balfour. The heckler and interrupter are shown no mercy. Police descend upon them the moment they open their mouths, and they are bundled out of the hall as an offence to decency and good manners. . . American methods, though lacking something of the salt and raciness of our own, are considerably less tumultuous."

Americans are uniform--

"The reasons why there is little heckling are first, Americans are singularly uniform. The average man is a greater fact there than anywhere else. Personal individuality is not so common as in England. The standard of intelligence and education is high, but it is a standard that few rise above or fall below. Hence a distrust of all opinions that are not generally accepted.

"The average American does not care to make himself conspicuous by taking the unpopular side. The English workingman feels no such diffidence; and no doubt he serves a very useful purpose. He extracts pledges from candidates and ferrets out their views.

Strong party ties--

"But in the States party ties are stronger; a Democrat attends only Democratic meetings; and a Republican goes only where he can be sure of having his opponents soundly pummelled. He doesn't want to be convinced; what he is on the lookout for is an orator who will take his convictions for granted and proceed to lash them into enthusiasm. An American who does not vote for his party does not vote at all. So a meeting is held not to win over the waverers but to stimulate the faithful; instead of to serve both objects, as with us.

Americans applaud and do not challenge--

"I believe that much of the exaggeration and flamboyancy in American orators comes from the knowledge that whatever they say will be applauded, and the more strongly it is put the louder will be the applause. It is not good for oratorical style or for a reasoned discussion of affairs that orators should go unchallenged.

"At the same time it prevents the possibility of any meeting ending in a 'disturbance of the peace'."

The Languid Voters of Boston.

"There is a large proportion of the registered voters who do not exercise the right of suffrage, and the number of registered voters bears small proportion to the number legally entitled to vote. Statistics show that voters of Boston are most interested in the election of President; then Mayor, and down the line."

The old picturesque methods have given way to more practical ones--

Unique Campaign Methods.

(Chicago Record).

"The Republicans of Indiana held a grand barbecue at Logansport at which twenty-eight beeves were fed to the hungry multitude. The barbecue is not yet extinct in Indiana and Kentucky, where it still lends poetry to the campaign. The picturesque side of political campaigns has been changing rapidly of late years. Innovations are creeping in and the spectacular features of a few years ago have well nigh vanished. Even the joint debate between opposing candidates, which reached the height of its importance in the historic Lincoln-Douglas series and was for years of fundamental consequence in its political value, has almost completely lapsed from service.

"Not long ago thousands of men were marching night after night when the campaigns were warm. . . The rail-splitting, log cabin, hard cider campaigns are part of the national history marked by peculiarly picturesque qualities; but they are out of the memory of the younger voters.

"The most noteworthy contribution of recent campaigns to picturesque methods of electioneering is the 'rear platform canvass'. The special train tour is a successor to some of the abandoned practices. To it may be added the vaudeville shows, and the use of lantern slides, moving pictures, megaphones, phonographs, kites, multitudinous badges, and the 'full dinner pail' before the list is exhausted.

"It is now the practical, however, rather than the picturesque that rules."

A campaign of unusual composure--free from vituperation--

A Campaign with a Moral.

(From the Kansas City Star).

"It is remarkable the composure enjoyed by the country during the present campaign. There has been nothing like it in the history of the Republic, though the interest in the issues involved is as great as it has been in more excitable and spectacular contests. Chiefly, it has been free from vituperation to an unusual degree. It may well be believed that this has ceased permanently from being a feature of national campaigns.

"The American people have passed beyond the stage where a successful appeal can be made to passion and prejudice. It is now futile to hold up as a rascal a man who can obtain, from a party representing nearly one-half of the people, the nomination as chief executive.

"The advance in intelligence is such that there could not be used with effect, as in former campaigns, the fallacy that either party desires the destruction of Republican institutions or is intent on establishing vicious rule in the land."

The discourtesy of Crocker's wooden poles--

Great Sound Money Parade.

New York, Nov. 3-- . . Wooden poles were seen along the line of march, about twenty-five feet high, erected by Democrats. The following signs were borne on the poles:

"The trusts can make you march, but they cannot make you vote against Bryan."

"This is a trust parade and not a Republican parade."

After the parade, Roosevelt said, in a short speech:

"In this contest we appeal to all good citizens and not to party lines!"

The Boston Herald's comment on the poles--

Compares Crocker's act with the example of Bryan who requests his friends in Lincoln, Nebraska, his home, to remove from their windows his portrait on the day when Roosevelt visited the place, and to make his opponent's visit as agreeable as possible.

Editorial Note.

If a stump speaker has rotten eggs or other missiles thrown at him by young toughs, the least notice paid the better.

The Editorial expresses fear of a financial panic, if Bryan is elected.

The Campaign of 1900.

Characteristics

" A campaign of unusual composure--free from vituperation." Chicago Record

"No unusual excitement." Haworth

Emotion. "Full dinner pail" appealled to workmen.

Daily disturbance during Governor Roosevelt's speeches throughout New York State.

Occasional missile throwing; preferably stale eggs.

Intelligence.

Little of Sectionalism or hate.

Orderliness of crowds, in spite of some hoodlum actions.

Factories closed in Indiana, as workmen desired to hear speech.

Public opinion frowned upon discourtesies of one party against the other;--Yale boys breaking up meeting. Antagonistic sign posts along line of march of procession in N.Y.

Much mention made of missile throwing.

Press: "It is now the practical, not the picturesque that rules in electioneering." Chicago Record.

"Free from vituperation." Kansas City Star.

The press is on a much higher plane than previously.

Sydney Brooks: "The average American voter has a higher degree of intelligence than the average Englishman."

Summary.

If public opinion reflected the minds of the people, it would seem as though intelligence stood out against emotion.

The Campaign of 1904.

Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, was the Republican nominee for the second term, by a unanimous vote. Charles Warren Fairbanks, of Indiana, for vice-President.

"The canvass that ensued was spiritless almost beyond precedent; and although there were the usual optimistic claims on the part of the Democrats, and the customary real or simulated fears on the part of the Republicans, the result was at no time doubtful. The policy of the Democrats turned out to be a mistake at every point." 1

"The Democratic nominee, Mr. Alton B. Parker, failed to elicit any enthusiasm in the rank and file of the party. His long term of service as judge of the highest court of New York, his remoteness from actual partisan controversy, his refusal to plunge into a whirlwind stumping campaign, and his dignified reserve, all conbined to prevent his getting a grip upon the popular imagination.

"Bryan's declaration that the party was under the control of the 'Wall Street element', but that he would vote for Mr. Parker, weakened the candidate, although the latter, in a telegram to the nominating convention at St. Louis, had announced his unflinching adherence to the gold standard." 2

"This defection among the Democrats alone would have been enough to render the result certain, but in addition the Democratic managers committed the monumental blunder of making Roosevelt's personality one of the main issues of the campaign. At that time the President was almost at the zenith of his popularity. The great mass of the people were convinced of his honesty and nobility of purpose. His many-sidedness was such that he appealed to all manner of men. His character was held up as a shining example to young men, and the 'strenuous life', the title of one of his essays, became a sort of fad." 3

As the Democrats lose ground Judge Parker emerges from retirement:

"As a forlorn hope they sent their candidate out to make some speeches. But Judge Parker did not possess the art of winning popular applause, nor did he have the knack of sounding clarion calls." 3

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1 Stanwood, Edward. History of the Presidency. Vol. II. p. 133

2 Beard, C. A. Contemporary American History. p. 267.

3 Haworth, Paul L. The United States in Our Times. p. 312.

The lack of issues: therefore, the personal element--

> "The Democratic platform, except in its denunciation of the Republican administration, was indefinite. It denounces the administration of Mr. Roosevelt as "spasmodic, erratic, sensational, spectacular, and arbitrary", and the proposal of the Republican party to enforse the Fourteenth Amendment was condemned as "Bourbon-like, selfish, and narrow", and designed to kindle anew the embers of racial and sectional strife." 1

The campaign listless, tame; neither party had a positive program. In 1896 gold Democrats voted the Republican ticket; silver Republicans, the Democratic ticket. In 1904

> "One of the candidates was extraordinarily popular, and so strong a man in personality, so persuasive and sincere in his acts and motives, that resistance to his leadership was futile.
>
> "He held his former supporters and attracted throngs of former opponents." 2

The only excitement was furnished by Judge Parker--

> "The only extraordinary incident in the campaign of 1904 occurred toward the closing days, October 24, when Mr. Parker repeatedly charged that the Republican party was being financed by contributions from corporations and trust magnates. As Mr. Cortelyou, Secretary of Commerce, was in the possession of inside information as to the practices of the trusts, and was also the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, 'he had used his special knowledge to extort contributions from corporations'." 3
>
> "Not until Nov. 5 did Mr. Roosevelt issuea signed statement analyzing the charges of his opponent, and closing with the positive declaration that 'the statements made by Mr. Parker are unqualifiedly and atrociously false." 3
>
> "Roosevelt's friends responded later, when revelations seemed to prove the truth of Parker's charge, that in Roosevelt's denial he had expressly admitted that corporations were contributing to the Republican fund; but the essence of Parker's charge was that Cortelyou had been appointed chairman in order to blackmail the trusts, and no evidence had been shown to prove this charge. 4

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1 Beard, C. A. p.267

2 Stanwood, Edward. Vol. II. p. 136

3 Beard, p. 268

4 Haworth, Paul L. p.315

Corporations also aided Democrats--

"In his reply to Parker, Roosevelt had asserted that corporations were also making contributions to the Democratic fund, and this statement received ample confirmation. In 1905 one of the great insurance officers testified:

"My life was made weary by the Democratic candidates chasing for money in that campaign. Some of the very men who to-day are being interviewed in the papers as denouncing the men who contribute to campaigns--their shadows were crossing my path every step I took."

"In 1912 August Belmont and T. F. Ryan, great corporation magnates, testified that they gave many hundreds of thousands of dollars to aid Parker.

"Mr. Roosevelt admitted that he had known of activities for raising money, but asserted that the money thus raised was for the purpose of aiding the local ticket in New York, as his own success in that State had been beyond doubt." 1

This controversy over contributions for campaign operations caused people in all parties to"recognize the danger in such gifts and to deeply deplore the practice.

"In 1907, after the insurance revelations, Congress passed an act forbidding corporations to contribute money to be used in federal elections.

"Later federal statutes required the puolication of campaign contributions, whether made in primaries, conventions, or elections." 2

Large Socialist vote significant--

"The total vote was nearly half a million under that of 1900, showing apathy or dissatisfaction. This dissatisfaction was further demonstrated in a startling way by the heavy increase in the Socialist ranks, a jump from about 95,000 in 1900 to more than 400,000." 3

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1 Haworth p. 315

2 Haworth p. 316

3 Beard p. 269

The New York Tribune, 1904.

In the last days of the canvass the Tribune emphasized the speech of Judge Parker who had accused President Roosevelt and Chairman Cortelyou of corrupt alliance with the trusts in order to provide campaign funds. There was much indignation expressed, partly because of the popularity of Roosevelt, and also because people thought it was not good ethics for one candidate to attack the personal honor of the other.

The public sentiment seemed to be that such tactics should not be a part of the present. This attack by the opposition reacted in sympathy for President Roosevelt.

The usual public assemblies and demonstrations, and the torchlight processions had little mention.

Besides the charge that the trusts had been blackmailed, Judge Parker criticised the big army and navy. This criticism did not meet with sympathy at that time.

What Mr. Parker Said.

> Nov. 3-- . . "We are, not unnaturally, threatened with a great danger--the lack of self-control. . We are great. We are strong. We are rich. Our mission, the refuge of the oppressed, the protection of the downtrodden. What more natural then, that we should say we need great revenues, a great army, and a powerful navy that may fulfil the mission to which we have been called? But in all human experience, to what uses have great revenues, great armies and great navies been put? Have they, in fact, been ever used by their possessors to elevate mankind?"

His view of the situation--

> "In this election we, the plain people, stand ranged on one side. On the other, as I view it, stand the forces that make for evil to the United States. There we find the exaggerated tariff aggrandizing the few, and the trusts grinding the many; there the extravagance that is their bedfellow; there the insolent disregard of the rights of the weak, and there the greed of empire."

More about the army:

> Carl Schurz and Judge Parker talk to German-Americans at Cooper Union Hall. Carl Schurz:
>
> "The Republican party has reduced our country to the depth of Buccaneers. It has helped to rob weak southern territory in the Panama affair; has commenced a policy which, if carried out, will place us on the par with the European, of whom it is said, each workman carries a soldier on his back. We are asked to elect a President who is the embodiment of force; a candidate who tells us that those who don't agree with him are dishonest. He divides us into two classes: those who vote for him and who are patriots, and those who vote against him and are traitors."

The Tribune reacts in a counter charge against Judge Parker:

> Mr. Parker's Evasions.
>
> The charge is that in 1885, while Judge Parker was a judge, in order to elect David B. Hill governor, he levied on contractors for funds, and reimbursed them by an aqueduct contract on a bid of $54,000 above the lowest. that defrauded the taxpayer of New York to that extent.
>
> "When speaking of corrupt campaign funds Judge Parker carefully avoids this transaction."

Senator Fairbanks speaks on dragging personalities into the campaign. Certain excerpts are eagerly accepted and are repeatedly quoted in the paper and in different papers of the country; this speech was made at Michigan City; Naturally, the assertion that"Democratic policies are paralyzing", brought forth resentment that was expressed in the opposition papers:

Trying to Dodge the Issue.

"In the face of great national questions which should be debated and fairly determined, mere personalities seem out of place. Questions involving the happiness of the people, the destiny of the Republic, should be lifted up and considered on a high level. It is to be deplored that personalities have been dragged into the present campaign by the opposition. It is an attempt to divert public attention from the great questions with respect to which Democracy stands discredited before the American people.

It is to be regretted that the honorable candidate for the Presidency on the Democratic ticket makes the suggestion that the President and the chairman of the Republican National Committee have prostituted their positions to aid in the collection of campaign funds.

It is incredible that a candidate for the high office of President of the United States should give utterance to a charge so utterly groundless. He does himself injustice, and he affronts the intelligence of the American people when he imputes to his opponent an act so unworthy and makes a charge so absolutely unfounded.

. . .

In the face of great national problems, how utterly insignificant personalities become! We must not allow our mind to be diverted from a contemplation of the great fact that Democratic policies are paralyzing, and that Democratic administration is destructive to our national developments.

We should take the debate involving the destiny of the Republic out of the swamps of personality and personal detraction, and put it on the high level where questions involving the destiny of the Republic should be considered."

A healthy indication that people will not accept the vituperative attacks that existed in the Blaine campaign, and that such react the other way--

Parker Aids Roosevelt.

"It is manifest that the personal attacks on President Roosevelt now, as in the past, will be to arouse enthusiasm in his behalf and to incite indignation against those who are responsible for the groundless insinuations and charges.

"While many accept as inevitable that extreme partisans and irresponsible newspapers should attempt to make votes by reflections on the Chief Executive, they resent such slanders and innuendoes when voiced by the opposition candidate for the Presidency.

"They recall Mr. Parker's assurance in the beginning of the canvass that it was to be a campaign devoid of personality so far as the Democrats were concerned. They know that it has been singularly free from personalities so far as the Republicans are concerned.

"From West Virginia come the reports that the personal attacks of Judge Parker and his associates have aroused such enthusiasm for Roosevelt that it is probable that the Republican National Committee will take pains to circulate extracts from Judge Parker's speeches in that state."

Talks on buying votes; urges voters to exercise their privilege and duty as voters, and to disregard personal abuse and study issues:

The Independent Voter.

(Must save the day in Elections).

"There are those who will find during the elections the most opportune moments for making money. They care less for the man who succeeds than for him who will pay the highest price for their votes. These they sell to either or both sides as long as they find willing customers, and then repeat, casting ballots as long as they are not detected.

"Speakers gather crowds in empty houses and espouse the cause of the party they happen to serve, often changing from one to the other, according to the liberality of their employers.

"The collection of campaign funds continues to help the candidate who controls the longest purse. As long as rich men pour their wealth into the coffers of party managers, money collected for the ostensible purpose of disseminating knowledge is openly used for corruption. The decadence of Rome and the other republics of antiquity, began with bribery of the venal plebians by grasping patricians.

The speaker urges citizens who find themselves lost in their own affairs to exercise their privileges and duties (the speech continued): Demand for "best" men as leaders--

> "Honorable men should realize that this depravity --the prevalence of bribery--makes their attention to the situation is all the more important.
>
> "Americans are adapted for self-government, for they are more self-reliant and better informed than voters of other nations. Over 80 % of qualified voters cast their votes when important questions arise. Ever since they have shown so much interest, independent voters exert greater influence, and practical politicians dare no longer nominate to high office any but the best men they can find. This is shown by the present campaign. No doubt can exist in the mind of any impartial observer as to the merits of either candidate. Both are honorable men, both deserve the highest distinction the country may offer, may confer.

Study issues: vote for the man who represents the principles in which the voter believes the best interests of the nation lie:

> "The present campaign is fought on well-defined principles. The voter who believes that the taxes imposed by our tariff are mischievous because they enable American manufacturers to sell to foreigners cheaper than to American consumers must vote for Parker. The opponent who is convinced that our prosperity is due to protection and that continuation of that prosperity depends on the rigorous maintenance of the protective system, must vote for Roosevelt. Minor issues will doubtless be settled by the successful party to the satisfaction of the other!
>
> "The intelligent voter does not heed the abuse by which partisans want to injure the candidate of the other side: he investigates the charges before he condemns. Political abuse helps rather than hinders the candidate.

Political abuse helped Garfield in 1880--

> "This fact was demonstrated when, shortly before the election of 1880, Democrats charged Garfield with connivance at the illegal immigration of Chinese labor; they insisted in the face of public denial, and Garfiels was elected!

"The independent voter must step forth and cast his vote for the best man--else we should be in grave danger by the intrigues of the demagogues who control large amounts of money and a great number of votes."

The Tribune says that the newspapers of the Democrats are making this a campaign of vituperation--

"The New York Times and the Brooklyn Eagle have been making the most bitter attacks upon the honor of Mr. Cortelyou. Their campaign of vilification has been used instead of any real issues to appeal to the people."

Bribery:

The "Kitty" Missed.

Baltimore, Nov. 3--A cog slipped in the Maryland Democratic machinery today. Senator Gorman was expected to come to this city with the "kitty"--not an ordinary domestic animal, but a black bag containing the usual contribution which he secures from some mysterious source.

The county leaders had been notified to be on hand to receive their allotments and they came; but Mr. Gorman did not.

Democratic Bribery.

Elmira, New York--In the little village of Van Etten, near this city, $3. was offered to each of several rural voters as a bribe to keep them away from the polls.

. . .

"The Democratic campaign has been based almost entirely on vilification of the Republican candidates. There are scores of Bryan Democrats who will vote for Roosevelt and scores of Bryan Republicans in manufacturing communities who will vote the Republican ticket. Moreover, the independent vote will largely go to Roosevelt, together with the first voters.

"There is evidence of money up here these last days, as Democrats are spending it in the saloons."

Don't Forget Your Obligation to Vote.

"There are from 5.000 to 20,000 fraudulent votes every election collected by Tammany."

Big Sums for Floaters.

Nov. 4--Taggart in Indianapolis--Early in the season he sent $220,000 into the state; and now within three days his lieutenants have been furnished with $100,000 more--to use to get the vote.

The Real Race Issue.

"It does not seem to be against the color of the man so much as against the color of his vote. He will continue to vote the Republican ticket, though the members of it have been freed nearly fifty years. For this they are buffeted, kicked, disfranchised, and shot, and yet they are assessed, taxed, and counted as citizens in the apportionment for Congress.

N. B. "When EDUCATION AND INTELLIGENCE are made the test and rule for suffrage, color lines and "race issues" will disappear."

A tendency to choose the leader rather than the party, if the leader is strong enough--

Roosevelt Stronger then His Party.

The Tribune speaks of the campaign as "the most reliable and conservative canvass of the counties" (New York). "Figures show that Roosevelt will poll a larger vote than McKinley did, due, in the main, to his popularity--Democratic as well as Republican ranks proving the truth of the campaign assertion that he is stronger than his party. "

Action of Boston Police Denounced.

Boston, Nov. 4--Students and citizens were injured in last night's riot. An investigation is to take place as to whether the police or the students started the riot. It was between the Tech and Harvard students after the parade, as usual. Men trying to get away were clubbed in the excitement.

Parker's Campaign.

"Never in the recent years has a presidential candidate demeaned himself by charges of a personal and offensive character, attacking the honor of the President and the honesty of Chairman Cortelyou. It is beneath the dignity of a public man."

Roosevelt Speaks.

Nov. 5--The President issues a signed statement to the American people. He denies Judge Parker's statements;"as his position gives them wide currency, I speak now, lest the silence of self-respect be misunderstood."

He denies the charges that he appointed Mr. Cortelyou in a conspiracy to blackmail corporations.

Big Republican Rally at
Durland's Riding Academy.

Root Defends the President.

"Again and again the thousands of earnest Republicans at the meeting rose in a mass, waved flags, shouted until the large building seemed fairly to shake with the volume of cheers. Twice the cheering was sustained for several minutes at a stretch."

. . .

Different speakers make indignant defence of Judge Parker's attack on Mr. Cortelyou. Mr. Root defends the President's policies in regard to strengthening the army and the navy.

There is much cheering, especially when Mr. Woodruff reads a letter from President Roosevelt.

The Personal Issue.

Nov. 6--"Never in the whole history of Presidential campaigns until now has one candidate for the Presidency attacked the personal honor and integrity of his competitor. We have had campaigns of bitter personalities.

Compares it with previous campaigns-

"The rivalries of Adams, Jackson, Crawford and Clay drew forth torrents of abuse of the vilest kind; but the candidates maintained relations of mutual respect.

"Later we have seen campaigns where private lives were subject to the attacks of jackals, through no fault of the candidates themselves; but it reserved for the judicial high-minded Mr. Parker, who a few weeks ago was ostentatiously enjoining on his subordinates avoidance of any reflections upon Mr. Roosevelt's personal honor, to come forward and charge the President of the United States with being a blackmailer of corporations."

"No man ever won the American Presidency by a campaign of gross misstatements and slander; and, for the credit, honor, and perpetuity of American institutions, including the Constitution, it is hoped none ever will."

The Duty of the Voter.

To the Tribune:

"We have witnessed hitherto unknown elaboration of railing and personal abuse; having no legitimate issues on which they could unite, they have given us a unique exhibition of the depths to which hard pressed politics can descend.

"At first we were amazed, then indignant; now we smile at the charges.

"Don't forget your personal obligation to vote!"

The Campaign of 1904

Characteristics

"The canvass was spiritless almost beyond precedent." Stanwood

Emotion.

"Voters care less for the man who succeeds than for him who will pay the highest price for their votes." This is not, at least, voting through intelligence.

Intelligence.

Public opinion resents personal attacks of one candidate against the other. A plea for a campaign devoid of personalities was emphasized throughout.

Evidence everywhere that the campaign of vilification against Mr. Cortelyou and President Roosevelt reacted against the opposing party. The people seemed less inclined than ever before to accept such attacks.

A plea for education and intelligence as the test for voters, to do away with intimidation of the colored vote in the South.

Increase in Socialist ranks showed that the voters were challenging.

Summary.

It seemed to be an effective plea--"intelligent voters will not heed the abuse by which partisans want to injure the candidate." It was believed that the people were able to judge for themselves, for the verdict was that they chose the leader rather than the party. No mention of crowd demonstration that was discreditable.

The Campaign of 1908.

In 1908 Roosevelt selected William H. Taft of Ohio to carry out the Roosevelt policies. The Democrats nominated William J. Bryan with a platform that demanded tariff reform and the adequate control of trusts.[1]

> "In deference to the third-term tradition he contented himself with nominating his successor, Taft. The government handed over to him had grown rapidly in prestige and power and was a government that was by way of becoming once more a servant of the people. Civil service was better through Roosevelt vitality, no less than by the knowledge that efficiency and intelligence could be recognized and rewarded. The whole tone and temper of life of the public had changed for the better, and the popular interest in public affairs had never been more keen or intelligent." [2]

When Roosevelt moved into the White House the movement against "big business" in its domination of the political world had started in the West among the populist states and become a national movement. Along with it developed a reform and uplift movement. The people were moved by disclosures of corruption and graft in governments especially in the big cities; and the demand for reform was necessary in order that the people might have more share in the rule. "When graft cases came to trial, however, it was found that these officials were usually part of a great political system that would not permit its members to be punished. It was found further that the laws were not designed so much to protect the public as to look after favored interests."[3]

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[1] Ashley, Roscoe L. American History. 1927. p. 536

[2] Morrison, S. E. Oxford History of the United States. Vol.II. p. 447

[3] Ashley p. 533

Roosevelt's activities toward the trusts affected political thought.

"The keynote of a large proportion of his (Roosevelt's) utterances was undying hostility to the great corporations popularly termed 'trusts', and to the accumulation of great wealth in individual hands. Beyond all doubt his attitude toward the trusts, and toward the Standard Oil Company in particular, did him no harm with the people. A large majority of the people were of the same way of thinking and applauded him hotly. It was the popular sentiment at the time, whether permanent or not is for the future to show, to regard the great corporations as an unmitigated evil, and the possession of enormous wealth not merely as prima facie evidence but as incontrovertible evidence of wrongdoing, and the existence of such fortunes as a curse which it was the first duty of statesmanship to remove.

"The prevalence of these sentiments, largely due to the frequent and most forcible presentation of them by the President, was one of the most important and striking features of the political thought of the time. It may be doubted whether it had any appreciable effect upon the result of the ensuing election. But it certainly rendered the task of Mr. Roosevelt's successor by no means easy." 1

The trusts react in the "panic of 1907"--

"Late in 1907, soon after the imposition of the great fine against the Standard Oil Company, a financial stringency, amounting in some centres to a panic, developed. There were runs on many banks and trust companies, but the financial interests combined for mutual protection, clearing-house certificates were issued as an emergency currency, and only a comparatively few institutions went to the wall.

"Basically the business of the country was sound, and the flurry was mainly a 'money panic'; it was often referred to as the 'rich man's panic'. In some of the great industrial centres lack of employment developed, but the West suffered comparatively little and the farming class were not much inconvenienced." 2

Enemies among the trusts--

"Some of the President's enemies charged that the panic was due to the activities of 'Theodore the Meddler', but many of his friends declared that the flurry was 'manufactured' by trust magnates in order to discredit the attempts of the President to subject them to the law." 2

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1 Stanwood, Edward. Vol. II. p. 151

2 Haworth, Paul L. p.335

Perhaps the "pendulum" operated: Were the people or the "big business" men tired of "strong rule"?

> "Many progressives welcomed the change; for Roosevelt's excessive use of opprobrious adjectives had become tiresome, as his voluninous messages were tedious." [1]

Reforms--woman suffrage--

> "The most important reforms were the methods in the states known as the direct primary, the initiative and the referendum and the recall. Closely connected with these Democratic changes was the movement for woman suffrage.

The abolition of the political party convention was a blow to the old party bosses and machines:

> "A change of infinitely more importance was the gradual abolition of the political party convention and the substitution of the direct primary as a means for the nomination of party candidates." [1]

The Socialist party nominated Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana. The Socialist vote had increased appreciably during the 1904 election, and slightly larger in the 1908 campaign. It received votes from every state except Vermont.

The campaign of 1908 was without any special dramatic incidents. The conditions for spectacular developments did not seem to exist.

> "The conditions for a rousing presidential campaign are:
>
> 1) a new alignment of voters
>
> 2) a clear-cut and important issue
>
> 3) an even chance for the contending parties." [2]

Some considered the shortage of campaign funds responsible for the lack of enthusiasm, as the leaders could not afford the old display. Beard sees no shortage of funds.

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[1] Ashley, R. L. p. 534

[2] Curious Chapters in American History, by Humphrey J. Desmond. Chapter, "Our Livlier Presidential Campaigns". p. 249
B. Herder Book Company, St. Louis.

"The long stumping tours by all candidates did not seem to elicit the old-time enthusiasm. The corporation interests that had long financed the Republican party once more poured out treasure like water (as the Clapp investigation afterward revealed in 1912); and Mr. Bryan attempted a counter-movement by asking for small contributions from each member of his party, but he was sadly disappointed by the results." [1]

Congress by an act of 1907 forbade campaign contributions by corporations, in connection with Federal elections. [2]

"The Democratic national committee announced that it would receive no contributions from corporations, that it would accept no more than $10,000 from any individual, and that it would make public, before the election, all contributions above $100.

"Mr. Bryan also challenged Mr. Taft to make public the names of the contributors to his fund and the amount received from each. The Republican managers replied that they would make known their contributors in due time as required by the law of the state of New York where the headquarters were located, and Mr. Taft added that he would urge upon Congress the enactment of a law compelling full publicity of campaign contributions." [1]

(In 1910 and 1911 Congress enacted laws providing for the publicity of expenses in connection with elections to Congress).

Moral intelligence seemed on the increase.

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[1] Beard, C. A. Contemporary American History. p. 320

[2] Beard p.321

The Boston Transcript, 1908

There is interest in spite of lack of the spectacular--

This Peculiar Campaign.

(From the Brooklyn Eagle, Ind't Democratic)

"The remark is general that less interest is being taken in this canvass than in others. This is true in a general sense. It is not true in a specialsense. There is less spectacular interest. There is less noise. There is less importance attached to certain sets of individuals.

"Hardly any torchlight processions are being held. They never changed a vote. They never did more than to gratify a liking for spectacle. They cost considerable money. What will change the votes is the statement of reasons for doing so. . .

Absence of the spectacular should result in more thoughtfulness and less emotion: contributions of corporations forbidden--

"The money party organizations have is little enough and not easy to get! The necessity of accounting for every dollar of it is made by law! The prohibition of corporations from contributing money is established by law. The managers have to spend moderately, walk humbly and account fully. No wonder the processional side of the show has suffered in consequence. On the whole the fact is salutary. The campaign managers are more suspected than respected. . . To Roosevelt, Bryan, Taft, and Hughes, and to the newspapers the canvsss as a whole owes everything that has lifted it even to a languid interest in Republicanism and in Democracy.

The "side parties" more interesting:

Socialist party.

"The 'side parties' in the main have been more interesting, though less important. Mr. Debs has made the most aggressive and intelligent appeals among them. He is running for the spread and growth of an idea. . . His party will be largely disarmed by concessions which both parties will make hereafter, which will absorb back into each of the two great parties some of the strength which Socialism is now temporarily drawing as a protest from both. Mr. Debs does not know this; but he will learn it after the election. The betrayal of Debs is going to add to the pathos of politics.

Hearst's party.

"The party of reprisal and revenge, headed by Mr. Hearst, has done something against the Democracy who would not name him for President in 1904 and could not elect him governor in 1906. He believes he can become receiver of a bankrupted Democracy in 1912, after he has forced it into liquidation in 1908. He intends injury to Bryan. "

Relation of Politics and Prosperity.

(From the New York Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin Ind't)

"The latter is not so dependent upon the former as politics pretend. . . Our hopes do not depend upon campaign promises or our fears upon campaign threats. When these threats and promises are made by private employers, however, they may have a sinister significance and are certainly to be deprecated.

"That head of a large industrial corporation at West Chester, Pennsylvania, who has posted a placard in his works that the hour he is convinced that the 'dire calamity' of Bryan's election will occur or has occurred those works will have to close down as 'a matter of self-preservation', may be so violently partisan in his feelings as to believe what he says; but his language is naturally construed as a threat of discharge for the workmen, and an attempt to coerce their political action. . .

"The idea that the prosperity and wellbeing of the country depends upon the ascendency of one political party or the election of any particular candidate to office has been fostered to a pernicious degree."

The voter is thinking: Mr. Taft's only hope is in his pledge to carry out the Roosevelt policies; for the voter of 1908 is no respecter of persons:

"The renunciation by Bryan of most of the Socialist doctrines he has advanced in the past has led Socialists to distrust him, and has resulted in serious defections to their ranks from the Democratic party, while the thorough-going Socialist has no respect for a Republican on general principles.

"The nucleus of the Socialist vote this year is in the original followers of leaders like Debs, whose fundamental doctrine is the ownership of all public utilities by the Government; but outside that it will be a 'protest' vote--swelled by the malcontents of all parties."

A view that demonstrations make for harmony--

Money Makes Harmony.

Funds are Required for Enthusiastic Demonstrations.

Denver's Parade for Bryan.

A Great Demonstration.

. . Great crowds lined the streets. There were more than forty marching clubs from all parts of Colorado following the candidate through the streets to the Auditorium. .

There was red fire and electrical effects. A feature of the parade was an effigy of an elephant representing the Republican party lying dead from the shafts of Democratic assaults. Each spear was labelled with some Democratic argument, such as "anti-publicity", "Ananias Club", "tariff revision", and other similar inscriptions.

Enthusiastic audiences:

Vice-President Fairbanks tolked to many thousands of persons last night in a round of Republican rallies in New York. He addressed enthusiastic audiences.

Intimidation of workmen--

Bryan Sees a New Menace.

Newark, Ohio--Oct. 21--Bryan is thoroughly aroused through the publication today of a despatch stating that the officials of the New York Central lines had summoned their workmen and informed them that if the Democrats won, there would be a 10 per cent reduction in wages; but that if they lost, there would be an increase.

Bryan blamed this on the Republican party for its campaign tactics.

Recognizes the existence of unnecessary emotion--encouraged by the managers; not necessary in this campaign as there is no issue. Absence of an issue <u>always</u> leads to apathy or vituperation:

Our Artificial Politics.

(From the Providence Journal, Ind't Republican)

"There is a large amount of artificial energy infused into our American campaigns. When there are no vital issues we counterfeit such issues. When there is nothing to become excited about we revert to glowing generalities, wave the flag, and talk about Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. If we are Democrats, poor old Andrew Jackson is trotted out again, along with Grover Cleveland and the other quondam worthies; if we are Republicans, we talk of the martyred Garfield and McKinley, and repicture the party marching forward to the music of the falling manacles of the slaves.

"In the present campaign the two great parties are well-nigh identical in their professions, so that the ordinary voter, unless he is swayed by the force of heredity or association, will cast his ballot with regard for the personality of the candidates rather than because he thinks one platform superior to the other.

"In 1896 there was an election and an issue; not in 1900 and in 1904. Now, people do not know what difference it makes whether Taft or Bryan wins.

"It was the absence of issues that made Roosevelt attempt to 'put ginger' into the campaign; and the absence of issues will always lead to one of two things---apathy or vituperation. In this campaign we have had a superabundance of both. . .

Business is disturbed;

statesmanship gives way to demagogy

a general atmosphere of insincerity and unreality prevails."

Arguments Win, Not Songs.

(From the Springfield Union, Republican)

. . "Songs have of late been very little of a factor in presidential campaigns as they used to be in the battles between Whigs and Democrats. After General Harrison was nominated in 1888 campaign songs were written with the idea of giving them something of the popularity of the songs in the 'hard cider' campaign, when the grandfather of that candidate led the Whig forces; but the attempt was a failure.

"In the present campaign there has been no attempt whatever to arouse campaign sentiment by songs; business issues have occupied attention in recent presidential contests, and have been discussed in a simple and direct way."

Greater intelligence is found in the Socialist party, due to their ceaseless campaign of education:

Socialist Intelligence.

(From the New York Evening Post, Ind't)

"The rank and file of Socialists are better equipped with exact information on public questions than are the voters of other political parties. This is due in part to their keeping up their propaganda year in and year out. It is one of the fruits of their ceaseless campaign of education.

"A day or two ago, a New York master of the theory of statistics was explaining how easily figures, that on the face seem honest and straightforward, may be wholly misleading, and how the trained statistician will detect the error and show their worthlessness. He was asked in what group of average voters, Republican, Democratic, or Socialist, he would expect to find the quickest and clearest understanding of such an explanation.

"He answered that he would unquestionably find it in a Socialist group. This man is not a Socialist, but he has observed that the Socialists are looking for facts; and it is his opinion that their habit of acquiring accurate knowledge will alone make the Socialist party an increasingly important political factor.

"If this is a reproach to the other parties, they have no one to blame but themselves and their happy-go-lucky campaigners."

Is it dignified, as well as wise, for a presidential candidate :

(From the Springfield Republican, Ind't)

"Sensible people the country over are rapidly being convinced that the physical ordeal that Messrs. Taft and Bryan are undergoing would suffice to precipitate the interference of the police, if the contest were a six-day bicycle race instead of a race for the presidency."

The election of Mr. Hughes as Governor of New York is evidence that the ordinary voter is able to"choose the good". Different papers testify to that belief:

The Tribune--

> . . . "Most of all the people of the State deserve congratulations upon the high quality of citizenship they have displayed. Mr. Bryan asked, "Shall the people rule?" In this election of Mr. Hughes they have ruled, and they have demonstrated again, and in a new and striking manner, that they are fit to rule. They have shown their appreciation of the highest qualities in public life, intellectual and moral leadership of a superior variety, high ideals and an unbending adhesian to them, and a steadfast refusal to stoop to any demagog act.
>
> "Men went around the state saying that a man of these qualities was 'too good' for public life; but the people have shown that he was not too good for them, that no one like him can be too good for them. They have shattered the old illusion that in aiming high in public life there is danger of going over the people's heads, and have, thereby, encouraged the faith of everyone who believes in the people and popular government."

The World--

> "Governor Hughes' reelection is a great moral victory. He won it himself by appealing to the moral sense of the better citizenship. And it was accomplished by Democratic votes over an enormous Republican defection.
>
> "Against him were the votes and money of Wall Street, the Stock Exchange, the traction merger, the life insurance companies, and the petty Republican bosses whom he had offended."

No undue feeling in the crowd after election--

Merry Crowd but Orderly.

> Never was orderliness maintained more effectively in Boston's streets on presidential election night than was the case last night. Good nature abounded in the thousands of people; a friendly disposition was manifest when the police attempted to keep the streets clear.

Harper's Weekly, 1908.

Mr. Sydney Brooks, English correspondent for Harper's, speaks of Mr. Hearst's part in the campaign game. It is not only interesting in that it shows there is a relation between large corporations and politics, but it emphasizes the belief that where there is no issue apathy or vituperation will result.

Corporations in English and American

Politics.

(Sydney Brooks)

> Oct. 17-- "England is grateful to Mr. Hearst for instilling interest into the campaign. The English people had read in the papers that the American people were apathetic, and they shared its apathy. They considered Mr. Taft's election as settled. It was unspectacular; it was un-American. Then came the Hearst revelations. They appear to have convulsed all Americans. That political honesty should ever form a trust and register itself in Mr. Hearst's name was a development that Englishmen were fully unprepared for.
>
> . . .
>
> "Then again the audacity of the presidential intervention delighted Englishmen. They hailed it at once as a master stroke of electioneering.

"From now on Englishmen confidently expect the campaign to be as bitter and sensational, though not quite so scurrilous, as the Blaine-Cleveland contest.

> "They assume that Mr. Hearst's disclosures will continue to overshadow all other issues, and that the question which the American people will likely vote upon in Nov. is the question whether the Standard Oil Company has corrupted more Republicans than Democrats.

Personal aspects--

> "But apart from its personal aspects, it interests Englishmen because they themselves are concerned as to the problems of corporations in politics--of the action and influence of the moneyed power upon democratic government."

An article signed "by an Englishman" speaks of "buncombe" as used by the parties. He says further that Americans consider the "personalities" of the candidates, not their possibilities for leadership.

The Comedy of American Party Platforms.

(By an Englishman)

"There are really no political issues whatever in this year's Presidential election. The American people like buncombe. Otherwise it is impossible to understand why the politicians are permitted to say the things they do say. I do not believe the Republicans ever intend to live up to the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments any more than the other extravagant things they say or promise.

"It is the same with the Democrats as tariff reformers--on paper only. Nearly all the Southern Democrats I have come across are high-tariff men.

"Another delicious bit of buncombe is the Democratic demand for economy.

"As a matter of fact it is the salvation of both parties that they do not mean what they say; else no sane American could possibly vote for them.

Personalities--

"They consider Bryan and Taft as personalities--not primarily as political leaders. Many other factors play their part--from the point of trade. The Hearst revelations come in for their part.

"But the personalities of the two candidates are a greater factor still."

Never mind what Hearst says:

"Hearst says the Standard Oil men now want Bryan! Well, what of it? What Hearst says or what the Standard Oil folks want or don't want is a mighty little factor when the well-being of the whole people is at stake."

"The essence of Bryanism was and is a social protest. Even in '96 free silver was no more than the ornamental buckle on its shoe. . . His solitary service to his country is that he voiced the popular unrest with an effectiveness that compelled a hearing.

"The discontent in 1896 was both genuine and dangerous. It had been accumulating since the Civil War."

This idea of Mr. Bryan is voiced by William Allen White in Colliers. Harper's quotes:

"Mr. Bryan is still the Populist of 1896; still an agitator whose mission is to arouse the people, not to rule them."

Harper's shows interesting pictures of the activities of the candidates. It pictures Taft and Bryan at a big banquet of the Chicago Association of Commerce, on either side of the President of the Association. "They exchanged pleasantries after shaking hands and crossing smiles in the presence of the cheering diners."

This is a rear-platform campaign. We see Mr. Taft smiling and speaking from the train platform with vast crowds gathered.

Eugene V. Debs, "presenting the Socialist point of view to the voters of Waterbury, Connecticut, from the rear platform of 'The Red Special', in the course of his speech-making tour through the East."

"Teddy" on a mule named "Ginger" is charging through the rural districts. The farmers respond with alacrity:

Teddy Revere.

Ready to ride and spread the alarm
Through every Middlesex village and farm,
For the country folk to be up and to arm."

Bryan--In distress, as a beggar, is holding out a tin cup to a stern visaged, unresponsive farmer.

The pictures and the cartoons must have played an important part in the campaign.

Sydney Brooks, in an article November 14, speaks of the "potential strength of American Labor in politics and its almost total failure to make that strength effective."

The Campaign of 1908.

Characteristics

"The campaign of 1908 was without any special dramatic incidents. The conditions for spectacular developments did not seem to exist." Humphrey J. Desmond

Emotions.

Few torchlight processions held.

Less noise; less spectacular interest.

"In this campaign we have had a superabundance of both apathy and vituperation--a condition that often exists in a campaign when there is no issue." Providence Journal

Intelligence.

Arguments win today; not songs.

The "side parties" are more intelligent and interesting than the other parties.

Socialist intelligence: The group of average voters with the quickest and clearest understanding, among the Republican, Democratic, or Socialist party, is to be found in the Socialist party;for the Socialists are looking for facts!

The election of Mr. Hughes as Governor of New York was regarded as a credit to the civic and moral intelligence of the voters.

Summary.

The opinion of the press in general seemed to be that, while voters appeared apathetic, they were really thinking; and their thoughts were on the policies, rather than the persons, of the candidates.

The Campaign of 1912.

There was such dissatisfaction with President Taft's regime that by 1912 a decidedly progressive element had developed among the Republicans. There came an insistent demand for Colonel Roosevelt. The announcement that he would become a candidate precipitated the greatest pre-convention battle ever seen in American politics. Roosevelt and Taft each took the stump in his own behalf and attracted vast crowds. The " preferential primaries", by means of which the members of a party in a state were to express by direct voting their choice of a candidate for President, were mostly in favor of Roosevelt. But there were many conservatively inclined Republicans who stood aghast at the idea of breaking the "third-term" precedent; and as Taft supporters controlled the convention, Taft was nominated. Some of the conservatives feared such innovations as the recall of judicial decisions, should Roosevelt be nominated and elected, and encouraged the Taft managers to persist in their plan of re-nominating Taft at any cost.[1]

Roosevelt supporters considered that the Republican rank and file had clearly preferred their candidate, and that such expression should be decisive.[1] That night, "amid tumultuous scenes of excitement and enthusiasm,"the Roosevelt supporters nominated him on the Progressive ticket. Roosevelt had remarked that he felt as fit as a "bull moose"; so that name was applied to the progressives.

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[1] Haworth p.369

"The Progressives threw themselves into the conflict with the enthusiasm of crusaders, and won converts by the very ardor of their canvass. By November the Bull Moose call was echoing in every forest, and great herds were pouring through every valley and dale." 1

The Democratic party nominated Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, who was regarded as the leading progressive candidate.

"Had they nominated a conservative candidate, it is possible that the Progressives would have won over anough progressive Democrats to have achieved the seeming impossible; but the selection of Wilson precluded any wholesale desertions from the banner of Democracy. Even as it was, however, a number of rather prominent Democrats, including W. Bourke Cockran of New York, and John M. Parker of Louisiana, supported Roosevelt, while the election figures seem to indicate that some hundreds of thousands of the Democratic rank and file did likewise. On the other hand, it is certain that some Republicans voted for Wilson in order to beat Roosevelt." 1

A bitter canvass:

Beard writes that "in spite of the exciting contests over the nomination in both of the old parties, the campaign which followed was extraordinarily quiet. The popular vote shows that the issues failed to enlist confidence or enthusiasm. Mr. Roosevelt polled about 700,000 votes more than Mr. Taft. The combined Progressive and Republican vote was 1,300,000 greater than the Democratic vote.

"If we add the votes cast for Mr. Debs, the Socialist candidate, and the vote received by the other minor candidates to the Progressive and Republican vote, we have a majority of nearly two and one half millions against Mr. Wilson. Yet Mr. Wilson, owing to the division of the opposition, secured 435 of the 531 electoral votes." 2

Haworth and Stanwood agree that it was a bitter canvass:

Haworth--"Almost from the beginning clear-sighted men saw that Wilson's election was certain, and that the only real question concerned the doubt whether Taft or Roosevelt would be second in the race. The bitterness that developed between Republicans and Progressives surpassed anything of the sort since the Civil War. Republicans called the Progressives 'renegades,' 'traitors',

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1 Haworth p. 375

2 Beard p. 372

'disappointed office-seekers,' 'visionaries'; their leader was a 'neurotic,' a 'demagogue,' a 'boss boss,' seeking to make himself 'dictator'; and, strangely enough, an effort was made to convince the people that he was in league with Wall Street.

"Progressives looked upon the campaign as a new Armageddon, a battle between right and wrong; Taft's nomination was a 'steal' managed by a 'gang of crooks,' and it was put through by an alliance of 'crooked business and crooked politics.' Their most charitable judgment of Taft was that he was 'well-meaning but weak,' and that he was surrounded by men who 'knew what they wanted,' and that they were 'neither weak nor well-meaning.'

"The Republicans covered dead walls with posters declaring that 'prosperity' was in danger and reminding voters that 'It is better to be safe than sorry'. Their orators denounced Roosevelt and the Progressives, and appealed to their hearers to remain loyal to the 'Grand Old Party'." 1

Stanwood-- "The ensuing canvass, that culminated in the election of 1912, forms a chapter in our political history of which no American should be proud. It was an era of misrepresentation, unreasoning rancor, and mud-throwing.

"There was no need of active campaigning on the part of the Democrats; their divided enemies relieved them of anxiety, for the two factions, or rather the two parties, were too much occupied with mutual denunciation to spare any time in warfare against the party that both had previously held up to popular condemnation as the embodiment of evil." 2

"All the candidates made political speeches, and each advanced reasons more to the point why the others should not be elected than why he himself should be. The only dramatic incident of the time was an attempt upon the life of Mr. Roosevelt while he was making a political speech. He was shot and injured somewhat, but not very seriously. The assault created sympathy for him, and there was some suspension of political campaigning for some time. But he was soon again active on the stump." 3

The papers at the time considered that the Progressives were attempting to make political use of the affair, but that voters were too intelligent not to understand the effort.

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1 Haworth p. 376
2 Stanwood p. 298
3 Stanwood p. 300

Haworth ways, "It is beyond question that sympathy and admiration for his 'gameness' won him many votes." 1

Wilson was confident of success and campaigned somewhat leisurely, speaking with dignity and perspicacity to large audiences.

"He dwelt upon the evils of the protective tariff, talked much of the 'New Freedom' that he was advocating for business and the people, and accused the Progressives of seeking to legalize monopoly. On the other hand, Bryan, who as usual made an immense number of speeches, thought the Progressive trust remedy socialistic." 1

Dissatisfaction with Taft and enthusiasm for Roosevelt had been important factors in the great Progressive showing; and many voters had cast their ballots for Roosevelt without ceasing to be, or to condider themselves, Republicans. The split, viewed from the results, was not so complete as it seemed. In the states Republicans and Progressives supported the same candidates for Congress and for local offices. This state of affairs, therefore, proved chiefly to the advantage of the Republicans, though they were badly outvoted by the Progressives in the Presidential contest.

Though the split was not so serious as it seemed, "the historian has to go back to 1860 to find anything to equal it." 2 H 378 "For the time being, though, the most interesting political question was: Will the Progressive party or the Republican party survive? The answer depended in large measure upon whether the course of the victorious Democrats proved progressive or reactionary." 3

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1 Haworth p. 377

2 Haworth p. 378

3 Haworth p. 379

The Springfield Daily Republican, 1912.

"A significant feature of the present campaign is the dropping of party lines", says the Boston Globe.

> "They do not refer, as is usual in campaigns, to their former party affiliations; they promptly name Taft, Wilson, or Roosevelt as their choice for President, instead of saying they are favorable to the Republican, the Democratic, or the Progressive party."

Governor Wilson Cheered .

> "All Madison Square Garden cheering 'records' were broken last evening, it seems, in honor of Governor Woodrow Wilson, who was the proud and wearied recipient of a 'demonstration' lasting one hour and three minutes, or twenty-two minutes longer than the ovation to Mr. Roosevelt at the same place the evening before.
>
> "The imperative political necessity of beating the record made the evening before must be regarded as accountable for the high roller performance of this Democratic crowd, with its scent of victory on Tuesday next."

People not alarmed over

"The Impending Crisis".

> "The supreme objection to the Progressive party today is precisely what it was when the party was formed and its program presented to the people. It is the party of the indispensable man, whose mission is to save the country from the calamities and catastrophies untold.
>
> "In the days of the ancient Roman republic a great emergency or a period of grave distress was the signal for the appointment of a dictator in whose hands all the powers of the state were vested for a specific period. The people who are following Mr. Roosevelt assume that some day unless he be returned to power, to quote the leader's own words in Madison Square Garden, 'smoldering hatred will suddenly kindle into consuming flame and either we or our children will be called on to face a crisis as grim as any which this Republic has ever seen'.

"The majority of American people do not share this assumption.

There is no such grave emergency as presented."

The Shattering of Parties.

"This is the year notable for the shattering of parties. The division of the Republican party, whether to be temporary or permanent, is alone an event adequate to make 1912 memorable in politics. There is a remarkable fluidity in the entire body of the electorate.

"Party ties seem to be held in less respect than before within the memory of anyone now living. The general feeling, as it emanates from citizens of all political affiliations and sympathies, is unmistakably one of indifference to the mere obligations of party loyalty.

"It is Wilson and what he stands for rather than the Democratic party as an organization and an embodiment of a school of political philosophy, that holds millions of Democrats in line and attracts hundreds of thousands of voters formerly accustomed to vote the Republican ballots. And it is Roosevelt, the picturesque personality, the dynamic force, the smasher-up of traditions and old modes of thought, rather than the new party he has organized, that has won the allegiance of hundreds of thousands more.

"As a state of mind this popular indifference to the older conception of party loyalty has been in evidence for some years;

"this undoubtedly encouraged Roosevelt and his followers.

"The country has witnessed many surprising political events during the past decade. Hearst's independent campaigns were revelations of the readiness to smash the established parties and the ruling machines.

"A Democratic governor in Massachusetts eight years ago, with a Republican president carrying the state by an overwhelming majority, proved that the politicians could not be sure what may be going to happen.

"The introduction of direct nominations by the people has been an unusual aid of party disruption. . . With the system of direct nominations becoming widely established, however, one can discern prospects unfavorable to the future unity of party organizations.

"As things now appear, it seems doubtful that we shall soon witness again in this country that widespread devotion to party interests that distinguished party politics a generation ago."

The insurgent or progressive movement is due to education--

Charles Oster, a French lawyer from Paris, has made a study of American politics and talks on the different parties. He says we are passing through a period of perturbation which is likely to last in its acuter form for some dozen years. He likens the period to that of the Jacksonian era. The radiating center of the insurgent or progressive movement is at the State University, at Madison, Wisconsin. The movement has been due in no small degree to college education throughout the western state universities.

For the Progressive party to endure, he holds that it should have been formed more clearly about a principle and less about the personality of a single man; and that it would have grown most soundly, if at first less rapidly, as that principle won converts. He considers that in the West particularly, many of the Progressives will find their way into the ranks of the Socialists; and he looks in the coming years for agreat socialist growth as the result of tendencies which he has studied.

Mr. Oster expresses himself on the race question--

He believes that our problem of immigration is much graver than the negro problem. Our policy of unrestricted immigration has been fraught with the gravest dangers; and he considers the Lawrence strike with its disclosures both as to mental attitude and living conditions of a representative body of workers as having been an event of historical significance.

Further: "National unity and harmony of view are growing, and sectional differences are decreasing, and the isolation of the South is passing."

Characteristics of

The Closing Days of the Fight.

1) "Managers claim overwhelming victory.

2) Each candidate paints his opponent in dark colors and is ready to despair of the Republic in case his own candidacy should fail of success.

3) Nerves are on edge, and tempers at the hair-trigger stage.

"The voters, mostly, are not giving way to wild excitement. There is a degree of reticence on the part of a large body of citizens which disconcerts all who are attempting to forecast election results. Citizens believe there will be a Democratic success; and this is based upon the obvious assumption that a house divided against itself cannot stand.

"Perhaps as never before, the outcome of the voting is to be determined by the deliberate and thoughtful action of voters who make no noise about what they propose to do at the polls.

Note and Comment.

"As the great day comes it is gratifying to see with what good temper the country is taking it. The campaign ends far better than it began.

Letters from the People.

(From Robert R. Reed of New York City, October 28, 1912)

"There is always a tendency of voters to award the Presidency as a prize to the most popular man, regardless of the issues to be solved and of the capacity of their favorite to solve them."

The Windup of the Campaign.

A Long Presidential Fight.

Women Wield New Influence Now.

"The most vigorous Presidential fight of recent years came to an end last night. Fewer campaigns have run through a longer period of heated controversy. The fight for the Presidency was under way early in February and has scarcely lagged since then.

"The influence of women in the campaign probably will be greater than in any previous election. Each national headquarters has had an organized bureau to appeal to women workers, presided over by women well known in public and social life. In the six western states where women will vote--Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, California, Idaho, and Washington--their ballots will be an important factor in the results. In five other states, Arizona, Michigan, Kansas, Oregon, and Wisconsin, the right of women to vote will be an issue at the polls."

The Dreadful Modern Way.

(From the New York Evening Post)

". . Managers drag the candidates about not for the speeches they make but to make of the candidates a peep-show for curious people. . . The campaign of 1912 will not be a pleasant one for participants to look back upon, but if it marked the end of the insensate plan of making a traveling show of the candidates, we could forgive it for much else."

Note and Comment.

Nov. 6 -- The Republican considered that the results of the election show that the United States is progressive but not reactionary. People are conservative in that they do not like to sanction a new party--one that has not been tried--unless "in times of crisis". It is to the people's credit, the paper thinks, that they withstood "the most popular man, probably, in our annals." . .

"The unwritten law against the third term again survives the shock of assault. American institutions as ordered by the Constitution will not be cast into the melting-pot until the teachings of a well-understood and wisely-interpreted experience are more conclusive in their bearings than they are today."

We are "Getting New Light":

"The old saying that politics make strange bedfellows was never more true than in the present campaign. . Men who had become hidebound are finding the other fellows not so bad after all. It is interesting and inspiring to witness the admirable teamwork among men heretofore most bitter."

Harper's Weekly, 1912.

"The Voter Is Doing His Own Thinking."[1]

"In the present campaign the ordinary course of procedure has been reversed. It opened with personalities and vague rather than concrete issues. The campaign did not 'bite'. It was dull.

> ". . There is a telepathetic communication between the voters and political directors. The leaders instinctively recognize what that thought is. . . The heavy cannonade, the literature and the oratory, keep up its battering until the chiefs believe their enemy is feeling the effect of the fire.
>
> "Then there comes the second stage of the campaign, that of personalities. By this time nerves are on edge and the public is weary of the incessant din. Often a campaign running smoothly can be wrecked by an incautious word.
>
> "This campaign has been different from the usual. It began with personalities, instead of with statements of the issues. The attitude of the voter earlier in the campaign has now been succeeded by determination. This year the voter has been doing his own thinking, and has been little, if any, influenced by the ordinary run of campaign oratory. . He is endeavoring to be governed by judgment rather than by emotion. He sees that the real issue has come to the front ---the tariff.
>
> "The Democratic party alone was clear at the start on the tariff position. . And a majority of the people are giving more thought to the tariff than to any other political question. Hence, in the last days of the campaign, the talk on personalities has ceased. Principles alone are discussed."

Roosevelt holds the emotional population--(The attempt on his life)

> "Something of the sort is very likely to happen in a turbulent campaign in a country beset with irresponsible persons, almost always of foreign birth, who behold visions and have missions to perform. The wonder is, in this instance, that it happened to Colonel Roosevelt, who holds the bulk of the emotional population, and not to President Taft, who has been accused of pretty much every crime. It is as well he is at his summer home instead of running with the mobs in this somewhat riotous year.

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[1] November 2

Emotion and the Thinking-Cap. [1]

The business of partisan managers is, by continually harping on some impending danger, to "throw the voter into a state in which his reason will give way to his prejudices, and an epithet will have more power with him than an argument."

"The problem of carrying a Presidential election is mainly how by iteration to excite the voters to believe in some real or artificial peril to the country. The bellows of emotion is used to kindle the untouched coal of feeling, first to red-hot state and then to a devouring flame.

"Sometimes the peril suggested is the imminent destruction of American manufactures, with, incidentally, the ruin of the American workman; sometimes, on the contrary, it is the subversion of liberty itself by one or the other of these classes. Whatever may be the measure of actual danger, the party managers attempt to render the voters as bereft of reason as possible.

"Two considerations this year should point to a diminution in the sustibility of the electorate to these hectic influences:

1) The excitement of the Presidential primaries is likely to react in intelligent people to a serener state of mind; for human nature simply cannot keep up the racket.

2) The abundant prospect of 'bumper' crops that will doubtless appear.

"On the other hand two new elements will tend to increase emotion:

1) The votes of women for the first time in six states will have large total effect;

"and this sex, on the whole, is moved more by feeling than by reason; and moreover, women are likely to be played upon easily by politicians.

2) Again, the campaign has taken on an entirely novel phase in what may be called the political capitalization of benevolent work, which is sure to emotionalize politics to a great extent. . ."

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[1] Century, Vol. 84, Oct. 1912, p. 949.

"We are far from meaning to say that emotion should have no place in politics. Great wrongs call for great indignation, and indignation comes to the surface in emotion. But government is a difficult and complicated business, to which emotion may supply a motive, but for which it alone cannot provide a solution. In politics emotion is one of the most manifest of all the causes that conspire to blind man's erring judgment and misguide the mind."

"Apparently, there never was a campaign when it was more desirable to be on one's guard--to put on one's thinking-cap and keep it on."

Campaign Promises.[1]

". . . Planks in political platforms have come to be considered, like the suppositious Morgan of anti-Freemasonry days, 'good enough until after the election'."

. . .

"Repeated exhibitions of promises not kept have made American voters highly skeptical and distrustful about campaign pledges."

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[1] Century, Vol. 84, Oct. 1912, P. 951

The Campaign of 1912.

Characteristics

"The canvass of 1912 forms a chapter in our political history of which no American should be proud. It was an era of misrepresentation, unreasoning rancor, and mud-throwing." Stanwood

Emotion.

It was partly through emotion--the popularity of Roosevelt--that people bolted from both parties, particularly the Republican party.

The ardor of the Progressives is seen in the following:

"The Progressives threw themselves into the conflict with the enthusiasm of crusaders."
Haworth

Intelligence.

In regard to the "bolting", the cause is attributed rather to the thoughtful preference for the policies of the candidates than to the popularity, although there is difference of opinion.

A reference to voters' intelligence is the belief that they were too intelligent not to understand the effort to make political use of the attempted assassination of Mr. Roosevelt.

Summary.

We associate "1912" with the Progressive movement. From the point of view of the intelligence of the people, leaving out the regrettable actions of the party leaders, the popular appeal of Roosevelt, and the emotional intensity of the convention, the movement may well be taken as evidence that people were doing a great deal of thinking--were using intelligence.

The Campaign of 1916.

("He kept us out of war")

The campaign of 1916 was neither lively nor sensational. It was free from personalities and no dominant issue developed. Ten of the twelve suffrage states were carried by Wilson, and this re-inforced the impression that the slogan, "He kept us out of war," was the most influential factor in his re-election. His capture of the agrarian West was an unmistakable coup; the high prices for farm products were due to the war. The situation was satisfactory to the Democrats. New York and New England thought more of our rights upon the high seas and the security of commerce.[1]

> "The campaign was perhaps the least creditable campaign in the history of presidential elections. There was little candor, little frankness. It seemed as if neither party was willing to be straightforward with the voters, so entirely were the leaders benumbed by the possibility of losing the Germans or the sympathizers of the Allies. In addition to this the Hughes supporters were riding behind a mettlesome team of regulars and progressives which at any moment might pull in different directions.
>
> "Wilson still believed, in spite of the indignities Germany had been putting upon us, that our mission would be that of a peacemaker rather than a participant. He believed this, I think, until the revelations of the famous Zimmerman letters. But practically every other leader was convinced that war could not be avoided. And yet the Democratic slogan was, 'He kept us out of war!' and the Republicans were busy explaining how they could keep the peace better than a man whose 'too proud to fight' attitude had made the embattled nations believe that they could offer us insults which at last even Wilson must resent.
>
> "To each Republican criticism of Wilson's European and Mexican policies the question would quickly come, 'What would you have done?' And because any possible answer would have made antagonisms, none whatever was forthcoming. Hughes, a keen lawyer, made lawyer-like arguments

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[1] Desmond, Humphrey J. D. Herder Book Co. St. Louis, Mo. 1924 p. 259

and steadily fell in the estimation of the electorate. Wilson, at his summer home in New Jersey, made speeches in which he said that the Republicans were demonstrating the fact that if they were entrusted with the government they would make a mess of it. Roosevelt at the outset of the campaign made some frank, outspoken speeches. But even he, when he went into the middle west, walked discreetly."[1]

A Progressive convention was summoned when the Republican convention met, and at the same place. There was hope that the Republican convention would nominate Roosevelt, and, therefore, the Progressives would come back into the fold. But the Republicans wanted to punish Roosevelt, partly, and further, they feared the effect of his vigorous support of the Allies on German-American voters; for Roosevelt had become increasingly absorbed in the European war, which he regarded as the one outstanding issue in the election of 1916. "He denounced Germany and characterized Wilson's diplomacy as weak and pusillanimous.

"Under the circumstances, Charles Evans Hughes, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, was the Republican nominee. By adding the Republican and Progressive vote of 1912, Mr. Hughes appeared certain of victory. When it was learned that he carried New York, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, the victory was declared to be his."[2] But the far Western vote turned the tide in favor of Wilson. "The far-West now united with the South to overcome the East and the Central West. It was a sectional alignment without a sectional issue. The entire North, east of the Mississippi except Ohio and New Hampshire, voted for Hughes. For once, as went New York the Union did not go."[3]

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[1] Cook, Sherwin Lawrence. Torchlight Parade. Our Presidential Pageant. New York: Minton, Balch ' Co. 1929 p. 194

[2] Morrison, S. E. The Oxford History of the United States. Vol. II. The Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford 1927 p. 473

[3] Desmond, Humphrey J. p. 259

The factional bitterness, due to Roosevelt and the split of 1912, "was unhealed in Ohio, and for that reason and no other a state which had been Republican in every normal presidential election went Democratic. And the result in California traces to the same source. With either of these states supporting him Hughes would have won."[1] Mr. Cook explains the South:

> "The Wilson family, in spite of their Scottish origin and long residence in the North, were thoroughly Southern in sentiment before the Civil War began. The Democratic South found it easier to support one of its blood and faith in this crisis than it would a Northerner of Republican affiliations." 1

"What the Progressive split of 1912 certainly did was to leave a wound which could not be healed quite sufficiently to insure Republican success four years later. It was the quarrel of 1912 which re-elected Wilson in 1916."[2]

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[1] Cook, Sherwin L. p. 199

[2] Cook p. 179

The Boston Globe, 1916.

President Wilson, throughout the campaign, made earnest pleas for national rather than party unity in order to enable the country to cope with the international problem. Both he and Mr. Hughes were cheered long and loud whenever they appeared before the people. Americans felt the world disturbance, and cheered the leader who, according to their different beliefs, might the more successfully steer the proper course.

Wilson Makes Solemn Protest.

> "It is exceedingly important that this country should discuss its affairs with as little partisanship of feeling as possible, because its affairs were never so critically set about, if I may so express it, as they are at this moment.
>
> "There is excitement enough in the world. There is unrestrained impulse enough. Out of a heterogeneous nation we have got to make a unit in which not the slightest line of division is visible beyond our borders. . . "

He made solemn protest against the use of our foreign relationships for political advantage--in order that managers may make play with the loss of the lives of American citizens to create a political advantage.

> "Use political parties, but do not make partisan use of them." . . "Just as soon as our political parties are used for partisan objects they become a menace to the peace and an obstacle to the wise selection of policy.
>
> "I am glad we are near the end of a political campaign when the distempers of prejudiced discussion will be broken away."

Women, in the course of their campaigning, seemed not unprepared for emotional demonstration:

Throw Eggs at Women.

Chicago, Nov. 1--"Women who arrived here today on the woman's Hughes trans-continental train met opposition at an afternoon meeting in a down-town theatre. There were jeers and interruptions during the meeting, and eggs were tossed at the women as they left the theatre by an alley exit and passed into waiting automobiles.

"None of the eggs struck the women or the machines. The Hughes women maintained their good nature and finished their speeches in spite of interruptions. The speakers left this afternoon for Baltimore."

Employers threaten workers--

Warns Employers to Let Men Vote Freely.

Indianapolis--Nov. 1--"Numerous reports have been made of conspiracies to threaten and intimidate employees in voting, not the choice of the employee, but as the employer wishes. The reported intimidations have assumed various forms."

Cheered Wilson for Thirty Minutes.

Big Parade, Red Fire, Packed Hall.

New York, Nov. 3--The President's appearance, at Madison Square Garden, was the signal for an outburst that lasted thirty minutes.

Until this occasion the campaign had been quiet:

"The President's coming gave the Democrats their first opportunity of the campaign in this city for <u>old-fashioned political enthusiasm on a big scale</u>. . . .

"In the crush about the doors many women fainted.

"Similar scenes were enacted at Cooper Union.

"The President plead for national unity. . Someone shouted: 'We trust you, Mr. President,' and the cheering started again.

. . "I do not want to be elected unless I am one of you and you believe in me," he added amid applause.

"Many thousands unable to get into Madison Square Garden followed the President to Cooper Union, and the crowds there became so dense that the police were forced to use their clubs freely -- clearing a way for Mr. Wilson to enter.

"The chairman in introducing the President said that Lincoln had stood upon the same platform. 'He's another Lincoln!' shouted a chorus of voices."

Roosevelt at Cleveland.

At the Central Armory he was cheered four minutes forty seconds. He speaks of Wilson's delay in entering the fight. He quotes Wilson: "We are not afraid to fight for something as big as an American ideal." "What does that mean? Does it mean he wouldn't fight for a baby? There were 103 babies on board the Lusitania. Is there anything bigger in American ideals? He sent Boyd and Adair into Mexico and left them. He did not back them up.

"What does Mr. Wilson mean by being bigger than American ideals? What can be bigger than protecting men and women born under the American flag or naturalized under it?"

At Toledo-- "The first duty of any government is to protect the lives of its people. Mr. Wilson has said that he is too proud to fight."

Our Presidential election has become a more decent and democratic affair than it has ever been since presidents were elected:

The Change in Campaign Funds.

Nov. 3-- (Uncle Dudley)

"This year, Republican campaign funds are $1.025,000. Democratic, more than $1.000,000. Previous campaign funds were larger---from four to eight million, it is estimated. The managers did not know how much. The law of 1907 forbidding contributions from corporations and making imperative the publication of lists of contributors, and the Australian ballot, have purified National elections from a corruption greater than most of us realized."

Uncle Dudley further speaks of the methods of buying votes and the amounts paid for them:

"Vote-buying depended upon vote delivery. With the advent of the Australian ballot votes are not bought because the buyer cannot be sure that the goods will be delivered. ."

Improvement in order in the torchlight parade since 1904--

The Republican Torchlight Parade.

"The famous torchlight parade of 1904 which ended with the so-called Tech riot, was the last big torchlight procession in this city. Last night's parade of 5000 Republicans was free from any trace of disorder.

Campaign parodies--

"The paraders won an extraordinary amount of applause for their campaign parodies. The one that caught the fancy of the onlookers:

"Here's to good old Wilson, many times a pa;
Here's to old Josephus, well known as a tar;
It's SOME administration, where men like that abound!
My sons, my sons, for what you've done
You'll be sent to Char-les-town!"

Another, chanted to the tune of "Goodby, Those Good Old Bachelor Days"-

"Goodby those poor old Wilson days;
Goodby those poor old Wilson days;
For Daniels and Bryan, they are through--
And Wilson is feeling mighty blue;
So, goodby, those poor old Wilson days!"

Voters' ability:

(By Uncle Dudley)

". . . Voters are seldom able to carry three important issues in their heads at the same time; and if they have decided between Wilson and Hughes and picked their choice for the Senate, they have little energy left to turn in the direction of a Governor of the State; though local matters are of extreme importance."

No signs of excitement over the coming election--

Nov. 6-- Both parties are making unusual efforts to stir up enthusiasm among the people of N. E., most of whom have hitherto shown no signs of excitement over the coming election. It is hoped to rouse interest; not make converts.

The Growth of the Popular Vote.

Nov. 5--	1828	1,156,328
	1880	9,218,251
	1912	15,136,542

There will be more than 2,000,000 women voters next Tuesday.

Why men vote as they do:

(By Uncle Dudley)

1) Inherited vote

2) To further certain business interests

3) Class vote: social station

4) Attracted or repelled by the personality of a candidate.

5) Specific issues swing large bodies of voters. The man they regard purely as an instrument.

"It would be difficult to explain the bed-rock differences between the two political parties; but the country will never be in a bad way as long as people make right and justice an issue at the polls."

The women's vote is independent:

"Reports from the Pacific States show that in Oregon and Washington and California the ardor of the women for the re-election of President Wilson resembles in its fervor the intensity of a religion. Husbands and wives do not vote alike on the Pacific Coast. Political meetings have been attended by almost as many women as men.

"The women's vote is inaccessible and connot be controlled. It has proved itself in this campaign a bulwark of independence. Women are effective not only as campaigners but as responsible, intelligent, and discriminating voters."

Wilson will owe much to the women's vote-

> . . Women have taken more interest in questions of foreign policy than men. President Wilson in his speech before a gathering of women in Chicago said that"the function of women in the American electorate hereafter would be one of mediation, a sympathetic balance wheel which would strengthen the self-possession of the country and, presumably, enable it to resist the hairtrigger impulses of men who would fight on the slightest provocation to satisfy what they think is a National passion."

Hughes Cheered for Forty Minutes.

> Nov. 5--Madison Square Garden. Mr. Hughes rode at the head of a great torchlight procession. .
>
> He entered the hall at 9.15. There was a roar from the audience which lasted five minutes. The crowd then began to shout "Hughes! Hughes! We want Hughes!" The nominee waved a small flag.
>
> "The crowd settled down after fifteen minutes to a steady rhythm of 'Hughes! Hughes! Hughes!' . The cheering had been going on twenty-five minutes when Mrs. Hughes was escorted to the balcony beside her husband. At this the audience redoubled its noise. Then the other members of his family were grouped around him while the crowd cheered some more.
>
> "At the end of thirty minutes the crowd had settled down to a steady stamping of feet in unison. A band played a verse of 'Auld Lang Syne', and when it stopped, the cheering and stamping began again.
>
> "A mammoth flag was unfurled from the ceiling while the band played 'The Star Spangled Banner', and the audience ceased cheering to sing. Then Mr. Hughes was introduced; the demonstration had lasted forty minutes."

The big parade was five hours passing.

> In the Brownsville section traffic was blocked and the services of more than fifty policemen were necessary to get the car with Mr. Hughes through the crowds and to the entrance of the hall.

The Campaign of 1916.

Characteristics

"The campaign was perhaps the least creditable in the history of presidential elections. Neither party was straightforward, so entirely did the leaders fear the loss of the German vote or that of the sympathizers of the Allies." Cook

Emotion.

"He kept us out of war" was a tremendous emotional appeal.

Crowd enthusiasm: Cheered Wilson 30 minutes.
Cheered Hughes 40 minutes. Aim, exceed Wilson enthusiasts.

In the torchlight parade campaign parodies were sung, not complimentary to Wilson.

"Ardor of the women in the West to elect Wilson resembles in its fervor the intensity of a religion."

Took 50 policemen to clear the crowds, that Mr. Hughes' car might get through.

Sentiment in the South based on Wilson's southern connection.

Intelligence.

In that women voted independently, they showed the result of thought. "Women are effective not only as campaigners but as responsible, intelligent, and discriminating voters."

Party lines were discarded.

Summary.

In that people decided upon the leader who they believed was best fitted to steer them through the disturbed condition of affairs, they showed intelligent choice. The slogan, "He kept us out of war", made an intelligent appeal to many who honestly believed that the policy of aloofness characteristic of the last campaign, should be continued.

The Campaign of 1920

The national spirit of 1920 was voiced by Henry Cabot Lodge, the chairman of the Republican Convention. "Mr. Wilson and his dynasty, his heirs and assigns, or anybody that is his, anybody who with bent knee has served his purposes, must be driven from all control."[1] This one sentence, criticised though it was, was the culmination of the differences between the President and Senator Lodge, over the League of Nations issue, especially. The very selection of Lodge was a keynote in itself. He made a biting and sarcastic speech. "But neither the convention nor the people it represented, not the entire public were in a large frame of mind at the time."

The nearest thing to the heart of President Wilson was the League of Nations. Senator Lodge was his chief antagonist, over Article X, presumably, which might embroil us in European controversies.

> "Wilson was to reach the very height of power and, after a period when he seemed greater than kings, to retire broken in body and repudiated as few men have ever been, but still nursing with pride and alertness the shadow of his great dream." [2]

In 1918, when it was time to elect a new congress, Wilson "pleaded for the election of a Democratic ticket all along the line. It was an outrageous example of public ingratitude from him, the war President, in an election where both parties were supporting the war. He said that the election of a Republican Congress would be a repudiation of his leadership. The public

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[1] Cook, Sherwin Lawrence. Torchlight Parade. p.210

[2] Cook p. 179

at large responded to this enthusiastically, but not as the President expected. With a bang they repudiated Woodrow Wilson, horse, foot and dragoons."

"Certainly the League may have fared better if Wilson and Wilsonism could have been kept out of the campaign. But that was impossible. It was all the Democratic party had left. Wilsoniacs were a cause of great antagonism from the average man. The fact that so many echoed Wilson's phrase about 'breaking the heart of the world,' and accepted at face value the avowed purpose of the League, took umbrage at the mildest reservationist, and were quite above discussing its potentialities, did the League untold harm.

"When a public is shortsighted in its view, lacks proportion in its judgment of a character, and bases that judgment on actual defects, it does more harm than good for that character's admirers to be blandly blind to those defects and seek to bedeck the character with a halo." [1] 208

The papers of the period all point to a psychological factor--the urge for a change from a 'one-man' rule. The law of the 'pendulum' was operating here to perfection.

At the Republican convention there were several candidates; but the nomination finally fell to a candidate who had been only fourth in estimated strength---"the amiable and popular Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio."

Calvin Coolidge, Governor of Massachusetts, on the strength of his heroic stand in the police strike of Boston, had been among others presented as candidate for the Presidency. When his name was mentioned for vice-President, almost before anyone realized it the votes from the states piled up. "It was really the exciting hour of the convention, the first real stampede in a Republican convention in forty years."[2] As vice-President, he was, like Roosevelt, considered politically shelved.

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[1] Cook p. 208

[2] Cook p. 237

William McAdoo, Alfred E. Smith, and James Cox were in line for the Democratic nomination. It fell to James Cox.

> "Cox was quickly transformed from a half-hearted Leaguer to an enthusiast. His campaign speeches were largely devoted to adulation of the President, with bitter and violent attacks on his opponents, especially Senator Lodge. Though he was riding for a fall his equestrianism was spectacular." [1]

The issue of 1920 was "Wilsonism" and the League of Nations.

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[1] Cook p. 243

From "The Outlook" 1920

Lyman Abbott declares that the election will be decided by the thoughts, not by the emotions, of the people. He gives credit to the people for studying earnestly the complicated issue of The League of Nations, and for keeping a level head in the midst of appeals of the orators to the passions. The fact that college presidents are divided on the issue in about the ratio of six for a military alliance to eight for an alliance of law maintained by public opinion, and that an appreciable number were, two weeks ago, still uncertain, sufficiently indicates how perplexing this problem is to the American people, says Mr. Abbott, in his article,

The Great Election.

> "But they have not been indifferent; they have thronged to the public meetings. They have bought and read the newspapers. And the newspapers have been devoted to the League.

The people have kept a level head.

> "The platform discussions have not always been parliamentary. They have occasionally been vituperative; they have been often lacking in courtesy. The press has always been enterprising; but it has often mislead or misrepresented an opponent. But there have been no rows; the fighting has all been with the tongue, not with the fist. It has all been on the platforms, none of it in the audience.

Appeal to the passions.

> "Orators have appealed to the passions. "Will you dishonor your country for sordid self-interest?" this on one side. "Will you send your boys across the sea to die for struggles you know nothing about?" this on the other.

"But the passions have not responded---the people have been thinking, thinking, thinking. The election will be decided by

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1 Abbott, Lyman. The Great Election. The Outlook. November 3, 1920.

the thoughts, not by the emotions, of the people. Mr. Abbott is impressed with the serious attitude toward the League:

> "There is something wonderfully inspiring in such a spectacle. 35 or 40 million voters, of different nationalities, faiths, races, and of both sexes, resolving themselves into a 'committee of the whole', giving, not the largest part of their time, but the best part of their thought, to a problem which is both national and international, and the world looking on to see what their decision is to be.
>
> "The effect of such an election on human character, it is impossible to overestimate. It has enlarged our knowledge. The plain man who has never traveled beyond the boundaries of his own state, may know more today of European geography than some tourists who have spent a summer abroad. It has broadened our sympathies. . ."[1]

Campaign Gossip.

Lack of respect for religious beliefs of others--

> In "Harvey's" Weekly was published a cartoon which was a caricature of Raphael's famous painting, "The Immaculate Conception". . "It should in all fairness be added that Mr. Hays, chairman of the Republican National Committee, denounced the publication of this cartoon as soon as he learned of it, and put a stop to its circulation. When the American people are thoroughly educated to respect, even when they do not agree with, the religious opinions and faiths of their fellow-countrymen, the political campaigns of those happy days to come will be conducted without such egregious mistakes."

This article was a protest against such ignorance displayed in religious prejudice. It was a protest also against "whispering" gossip about Senator Harding. It indicates that public opinion did not meet such tactics with approval. The trend was moving upward in the ethics of the methods used for election purposes.

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[1] The Outlook. November 10, 1920

The Day After in the Metropolitan Press.

The "World" deplores the nature of the political intelligence of voters. During the campaign this newspaper, among others, had printed editorials saying that the country was headed for disaster, perfidy, and militarism, unless Governor Cox was elected. The Outlook feels that public opinion does not approve of such appeals.

The "New York Times" considers that the results of the election show a colossal protest against Woodrow Wilson and everything that from any conceivable angle might be attached to his name. They had resentment against the Treaty, high prices and falling prices, industrial decline, rising unemployment---all these oppositions combined in one great weariness, into one mighty desire for change.[1]

An Emotional Electorate.

This writer explains what started the Republican avalanche by saying that there was a general reaction everywhere; based partly on facts and issues, but mostly psychological. The "law of the pendulum" helps understand the reaction---just a desire to change from a "strong" rule to the opposite kind. He explains the reaction:

> "There is the reaction against President Wilson personally, due to his obstinate tactlessness in the last Congress and to the bugaboo of Autocracy. . California wants Autocracy, but wants it emotional and crusading on the side of the people, not coldly intellectual on behalf of mere abstract right. . .

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[1] Rowell, Chester H. Of the Fresno "Republican". Sent to "The Outlook". November 17, 1920

" . . Except among the narrow class of 'highbrow' intellectuals, the election was not a referendum on the League of Nations. People in general were bored with the issue. What they wanted was a change in the administration."

Boston Transcript.

November 1, 1920

At a meeting at Faneuil Hall "as many people as the Cradle of Liberty could hold sitting and standing were present to listen to the arraignment of the Wilson administration and to the presentation of the issues of the campaign by Senator Lodge and others. They rocked the Cradle as it seldom had been rocked before with ademonstration of party enthusiasm evidenced by cheers and other applause. It was perhaps the most vigorous demonstration of the campaign in this vicinity.

When Chairman Hall called Senator Lodge "the Olympian of Nahant" the audience rose and cheered until silenced by the band. Senator Lodge spike much about Abraham Lincoln saving the country. It was a great demonstration.

Nation Ready to Vote.

Predicts That Women Will Vote Independent.

Whispering Campaign Will Not Succeed.

A protest against the circulation of a story discrediting Senator Harding's ancestry. The charge is that this scandal was brought forth to obscure the real issue---The League of Nations.

The Campaign of 1920.

Characteristics

"The issue of 1920 was 'Wilsonism' and the League of Nations." S. L. Cook

Emotion.

There was a great psychological reaction to the administration of Wilson. It was an uncontrollable urge for a change.

The crowd had a delightful time cheering and applauding an arraignment of the Wilson administration.

Intelligence.

"The fighting has all been on the platform, none of it in the audience." Outlook

There was strong public sentiment against the "whispering campaign.

The serious attitude of the average voter toward the great problem of the League was especially commended by the press.

Summary.

While the emotional reaction to the Wilson administration was deep and far-reaching, great credit is due the intelligence of the mass of voters because of their diligent study of the complicated question of the League.

The Campaign of 1924.

Before President Harding's death the Democratic party seemed to have a political certainty at the next election. Then Harding died. Calvin Coolidge succeeded to the office, and he had the confidence of the people.. The oil scandals were uncovered after he became President but they did not touch him. Still it was certain that the oil scandal had done the party great harm and that the Democratic party had a show. Mr. Cook says:

> "Calvin Coolidge's attributes and his successes taken together are probably the greatest paradox of American politics." 1

After speaking of President Coolidge's weaknesses he adds--

> "I doubt if a better fitted man for the task could have been found at the end of the Harding administration. He was the antithesis of his predecessor and an antithesis was needed."2

At the Democratic convention there was trouble. There were two directly opposite factions in the party"that ought not to be pulling together--the Northern cities, cosmopolitan, largely Catholic; the Southern, aristocratic, anti-negro, Nordic, Protestant."[3] Never had this smouldering feeling been fanned into such a flame as in New York in 1924.

"The convention, to be frank and explicit, became a little religious war; the Ku Klux Klan and "Al" Smith, each faction hoping to beat the other.

> The Smith men not only wanted to beat the Klansmen, but they wanted to win a triumph as irritating to an important part of the party as a straightout Klan victory would have been to them. Neither leader, McAdoo nor Smith would permit the nomination of the other. It was two weeks before a compromise was reached. It was then too late, a condition which these bitter-enders might have seen, had they not been blinded by their antagonisms. The whole thing was a nightmare in politics and the people, who had never had the opportunity before, were standing, thanks to the radio, just outside the door and catching a real view of the futility and bad feeling of the whole convention. It was an unfortunate affair, but what is likely to happen in any body without homogeneity and with such falsely joined elements as the present day Democracy presents."

1Cook, S. L. Torchlight Parade. N.Y. Minton, Balch & Co. p. 248
2 Cook p. 255
3 Cook p. 258

Mr. Cook writes: "The Democratic party was wrecked beyond recovery in the battle waged between McAdoo and Smith along racial and religious lines. Thus do American party delegates enforce their appeal to reason."[1] When McAdoo was nominated the demonstration lasted seventy-three minutes. It was late at night when Smith was nominated. The scene was repeated. With watches in hands, some of the delegates kept on until "the McAdoo spasm had been slightly exceeded." On the fourteenth day of the convention, after McAdoo and Smith had killed each other as candidates, the nomination was settled on John Davis.

The campaign itself was of no importance. Committees went through motions. There was plenty of shouting. The Madison Square convention had settled matters. The defection from the party, which had refused to nominate Smith, was very great. Davis was a nominee; but he was hardly a candidate.

So entirely was Davis's defeat forecasted that the opposition put in no such intensive campaign as it did against Cox. Coolidge had 15,000,000 of the popular vote, while Davis had not quite 8,400,000.

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[1] Cook, Sherwin Lawrence. Torchlight Parade. New York: Minton, Balch & Co. 1929. p. 260

Boston Globe--November 3, 1924

Noisy crowds. In some sections interest is at fever heat. All of the candidates have been greeted by large and noisy crowds, yet there have been persistent reports of apathy. A great effort is being made to get out the vote.

November 6--Coolidge was elected in spite of the Republican party, because of his personal qualities.

The people have shown evidence of civic intelligence and civic morality in the election of President Coolidge.

Uncle Dudley says:

"The vote was not for party; it was admiration for the New England character of Coolidge. The youth of the country have been taught to homor character; and in choosing Coolidge they recognized right leadership. In accepting him for President the New England label has been endorsed by the United States."

The Outlook.

November 12, 1924--

More Independent Voting.

The splitting of votes shows that there was more care and intelligence used than at any previous election.

Also the heavy vote shows that the people believe there was an issue, and that they wished no doubt to remain as to how they felt about it.

"The Progressive split of 1912 indicated an independence in the mass of voters which it is wholesome for politicians to observe. In New York and the middle west party lines, in the campaign of 1924, have been almost trampled out of sight. The right to expect party regularity of the voters has to be earned.

"It has been said that this was a campaign without excitement or issues; but the verdict has proved that much thought was given by the voters."

Following is a protest against prejudiced criticism of college presidents:

Roorback

"It is not so much against the roorback as such that voters need to be on guard, as against irresponsible appeals to prejudiced remarks made with all the guise of responsibility.

Secret societies and prejudice:

The Riot at Niles, Ohio.

A riot between the Ku-Klux Klan and the Knights of the Flaming Circle. The incident is an illustration of the fact that for a secret society to propagate political action or place one prejudice in combat with another is a dangerous and un-American proceeding."

Changing Methods.

The old campaign methods of playing upon the emotions are giving way to more intelligent forms, is the opinion of "The Transcript", November 8, 1924, in the following article on the value of the radio in a political campaign:

"A number of things were missing in the last campaign. There was no soap-box, cart-tail, and street-corner orator. He lingers in a measure in the rear-Pullman-platform and special -train candidate.

The radio has superseded public hall meetings.

"The politician of the future must be more than a fist-flaying, spread-eagle contortionist, or personality hypnotist. His arguments must be sound and his logic faultless. If he cannot hold the interest of the audience, they will silence him with the turn of the dial.

"Ostentation, tin horn tactics, hollow oratory, and boasting lose their spell in the rush through ether. The radio will eliminate a certain type of politician. Most of the successful politicians of the past have been men who understood crowd psychology. The candidate was inspired by the sea of faces before him. He sensed their attitude and guaged his speech accordingly. He knew when he lost or won a point in his arguments.

"Stump speeches are on the wane. Candidates with radio broadcasting facilities will wage a more effective and intelligent campaign. Radio may reasonably be expected to do more than merely change political campaign methods. Will not this dignified and efficient method of reaching the nation's voters induce, in time, more intelligent, capable men to seek public offices?

The Campaign of 1924.

Characteristics

"The vote was not for party; it was admiration for the New England character of Coolidge. In accepting him for President, the New England label has been endorsed by the United States." Uncle Dudley

Emotion.

Some of the deplorable spirit exhibited at the Democratic convention was seen in the defection from the party because Governor Smith was not nominated.

Intelligence.

In the extent of the popular vote giving such a great majority to President Coolidge, "party lines were trampled almost out of sight."

It was a credit to the intelligence of vast numbers of people who listened continually over the radio; for without "tin-horn, hollow oratory tactics", a radio audience can be held only if it has an intelligent desire to understand the issues at stake.

There was no "cart-tail and street-corner oratory. "

Summary.

The decision of 1924 was a vote of confidence due to respect for the highest type of leadership.

The Campaign of 1928

Many consider that the campaign of 1928 was the hardest fought, the most exciting and altogether spectacular presidential election since the Civil War. Mr. Cook asserts: "The Blaine campaign still seems to me the liveliest, the hottest, the most vicious campaign which I ever witnessed."[1] In the campaign of 1884 Blaine himself was the real issue, and the campaign was waged around the question of his fitness to be President. It was so in 1928. The center of the stage was Alfred E. Smith, and it was the Smith campaign that was fought.

At Kansas City Hoover was nominated; for vice-President, Senator Curtis of Kansas, to placate the farm bloc.

The Democratic convention met in extreme heat at Houston, Texas. There was great effort to eliminate all rowdiness such as had been present four years before. But there were occasional fisticuffs between the two factions of the convention.

Mr. Cook tells us that Mr. Smith talked in terms of votes. Mr. Hoover was unused to the game of politics and, therefore, did not think in terms of votes, and had no taste for politics.[2] If he mentioned Smith at all it was in a way that he could not resent, as when he thanked a New York audience "in the home of my distinguished opponent." "Hoover was so obviously sincere and so entirely different from the usual thing that the public was refreshed. Smith, the most pitiless duelist of his time, simply could not fence with a stone wall."

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[1] Cook, S. L. Torchlight Parade. p. 272

[2] Cook, S. L. p. 294

The candidates covered the country making only a few speeches. About a dozen were made, each covering the issues in his individual way. "The visible audiences were a mere drop in the bucket "compared with the audiences they were addressing over the radio and through the moving pictures.

> "The radio was Smith's final handicap. The air and manner which had endeared him to his own people, the entire naturalness, informality and lack of cultural background, came out. There can be no doubt that the radio and pictures cost Smith many thousands of votes." 1

Massachusetts and Rhode Island, usually Republican states, went Democratic. This was due, doubtless, to the fact that these two states have the greatest proportion of Catholic vote in the country. But about 10000 Republican wets in Massachusetts would have held the state Republican, if they had stayed with their party. In the South everything on the border had gone Republican, and everything north of Mississippi and west of New England. Never before had so many people responded to the advice to vote. Many of them had never come to the polls before.

Mr. Cook tells of the religious feeling:

> "Of course this opposition to Smith tended to solidify the members of his church in his favor. Already, and quite naturally, a very large number of these, thrilled by the opportunity of seeing one of their fellows in the presidency, were for him, irrespective of their former affiliations. As the evidences of antagonism arose, this feeling, with certain honorable exceptions, became intensified.
>
> "During the campaign both candidates declared that they desired no man's vote because of their religion. I do not question the sincerity either of Mr. Hoover or Mr. Smith. They said it because they meant it. But,

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1 Cook, S. L. p. 295

> meaning it, they said it for the record. Each man must have known, however, much he might wish his injunction observed, that it was only a gesture. On the religious question the voters were immovable." [1]

"Smith's campaign typified the yearning of the urban man for more power and recognition. He was bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh." The title 'up from the city streets', recognized this yearning. "He was the Andrew Jackson of the slums", to use his own expression. Two elements of American civilization were opposing one another, although the sense of this situation was "clouded and inarticulate" in many minds. The cities wanted a man that was "one of us". The country fears the city, for it "knows how little the average congested district in a great city demands in ideals from its representatives."[2]

Hoover's supporters clung to him with unquestioned loyalty. For years he had stood for great achievement, kindliness, humanitarianism, and amiability. Perhaps Smith was a great man. They did not know. But everyone knew about Hoover. "Hoover was Hoover".[3]

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[1] Cook, Sherwin Lawrence. Torchlight Parade. p. 288

[2] Cook, S. L. p. 289

[3] Cook, S. L. p. 291

From The Leading Magazines.

Many of the leading magazines of the day give us light on the emotional intensity of the campaign of 1928. The best thinkers deplored the appeal to religious prejudice. Regrettable as the religious element was, many believed that it marked an effort toward better understanding between different beliefs, and toward more toleration. An article in the "Outlook", called "Election by Emotion", shows the part fear played in people's minds. It dealt with current thought and action in terms of the new psychology.

Election by Emotion.[1]

"Only an amateur would expect a campaign to be conducted through an appeal to the intellect, to decide each issue on its own merits; but the practical politicians know that people do not vote with their intellects but with their emotions; and the emotion easiest to arouse in an American community is hatred.

"The present campaign is largely one of prejudice, a whispering campaign, with appeals to religious enmities and social animosities; and the use of anti-Irish incitements against Smith and anti-English ones against Hoover. .

"Conscious intellect has almost no control over ordinary human conduct, whereas the subconscious mind has every control over it; so that in wars and elections, as a matter of fact, people behave exactly as they do at any other time---only more so, as it were.

"All emotional appeals are appeals to instinctive impulses. There is no such thing as an emotion arising in the conscious intellect.. An appeal is made in election campaigns, as in war time, to the emotion of patriotism, to the impulses of the herd instinct, to fear and hatred of the enemy, and to egotism in the party!

"Whispering campaigns have been notoriously effective, for years past, in the women-suffrage states of the West. Now that women vote, we must expect whispering campaigns to become increasingly important in electioneering. Men are not so moved by it. In Wilson's last campaign the

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[1] O'Higgins, H. Election by Emotion. The Outlook. October 17, 1928

organized use of scandalous stories against him rather helped him with the men. "Well, I'd no idea he was such a regular fellow!"

The next writer thinks that party lines are giving way under the deluge of personalities; issues are ignored:[1]

The Personalities Have It.

"The candidates, in the beginning, promised that it would be a campaign of issues and the record. However much the candidates have tried to carry out their promises and discuss great public questions as they saw them, the public has chosen to see the campaign only in terms of Governor Smith and Mr. Hoover.

"Not in many years has the country shown such a skeptical attitude toward the two national parties and such genuine interest in their standard bearers. Party lines are vanishing."

"The campaign of 1928 was the most tumultuous since that of '96, and has come to a close moredramatic than any within living memory. . Vast multitudes of voters were swayed by forces of tremendous potency not bound up with any avowed political issue." This statement seems characteristic of the time. It was made by Fabian Franklin, in an article--[2]

Analyzing the Election Results.

This writer said that issues of principle not of immediate interest have very little influence upon the vote in an exciting presidential campaign.

"Prohibition was the only issue that played any great part in the outcome of the election. Millions of voters were swayed decisively by their sentiments on the great issue of Federal Prohibition.

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[1] Tucker, Ray T. The Personalities Have It. The Outlook. October 17, 1928

[2] Franklin, Fabian. Analyzing The Election Results. The Outlook. November, 1928

"Except agricultural relief, Governor Smith's other issues were completely ignored by the electorate generally, as of no immediate interest.

"Prosperity was the keynote of Mr. Hoover's appeal. It was a sweeping and powerful factor in favor of Hoover.

Religious and personal factors. "There were many forces not represented by any avowed issue; two of these were of vast sweep and potency, both centering upon the person of the Democratic candidate. These two forces were anti-Catholic feeling and Prohibition."

These two forces were not political issues, so-called; but they had tremendous potency.

Under the title, "Causes of Governor Smith's Defeat", James Cannon, Jr., took one view; John A. Ryan, D.D., the opposite, the Catholic view. An impartial view, it seemed to me, was that of Patrick Henry Callahan, who contended that Prohibition was the real issue. He felt that people would draw the valuable lesson of the evil of bigotry from the experience of the campaign. Some of his remarks:

Religious Prejudice in the Election.[1]

"It is idle to speculate whether religious prejudice or Prohibition, or Prosperity turned the tide in the election. There was pronounced and widespread opposition to making religion an issue. This was championed by public agencies more than ever before.

He gives credit to the press and distinguished men for their attitude toward bigotry.

"Thanks to the magazines and the newspapers and to distinguished men, I believe the people of America understand the evil of bigotry, the wrong and injustice of religious intolerance, better than they did before this campaign started. The press showed a great desire to be fair.

He states that the late campaign marked a distinct advance in tolerance of attitude which for so long marked our differences

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[1] Callagan, Patrick Henry. Religious Prejudice in the Election. Current History. December 1928.

of opinion, particularly in regard to religion.

> "From the new attitude disclosed during the campaign, we have reason to believe that the day of taboo on the discussion of those points of religion which affect our common life in society is gone forever. That, to my mind, is an immeasurable gain.
>
> Prejudices. There are many kinds of prejudices--- political, social, economic. Often intermingling prejudices, when excited, tend to neutralize one another, as certain kinds of poisons, properly mixed, make a wholesome beverage.
>
> Prohibition the real issue. "In the beginning of the recent campaign it was my thought that perhaps the rather deep-seated prejudices between the Wets and the Drys would tend to overshadow the prejudice which the nomination of a Catholic for President was expected to excite. I still believe that Prohibition was the main issue, notwithstanding the fact that it was beclouded by other extraneous matters, the chief of which was that which concerned the religion of one of the candidates.

Governor Smith at a disadvantage from the start, on Prohibition:

> "To those who, like myself, have for many years advocated acceptance of Prohibition as the normal condition of society in an age and a country like ours, the Democratic candidated was at a disadvantage from the start; but I think that his nomination and the campaign which he conducted are an episode in the history of our nation which the whole people will surely look back upon with satisfaction rather than regret."

World's Work likens the emotion of this campaign to that of 1828, in that it was born of fear.[1]

Independent. Logic and Loquacity is the name of the article that likens Smith to Bryan in '96, in that he thrilled audiences, had great powers in personal appeal, but was obscure in logic. The voters were able to realize all this, says the article, and personality did not win.[2]

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[1] World's Work. October, 1928. Who Is Bolting and Why.

[2] Independent. September 29, 1928. Logic or Loquacity.

Crowd demonstrations-- "The Transcript".

Nov. 1, 1928 --

Smith at Baltimore. Smith turned his guns on Hughes, and boos for Hughes and Hoover rose in great volume.

Borah at Baltimore. 15,000 cheered for more than fifteen minutes. There were boos, loud and long for Smith.

Political emotion in the home.

Home Electioneering Cost Man a Divorce.

Los Angeles-- A wife told her husband she was going to vote for Hoover. He tried to persuade her to vote for Smith. . . The judge said a wife had a right to support any candidate she prefers.

Religious Issue. "The bulk of the new vote brought into the religious fight is mostly women who have never voted before."

"The State of Massachusetts is only 25 per cent Catholic, hence, in a straightout religious fight, there would be no question about the outcome. There are some Republicans who will vote for Smith because of the religious issue. In return some good Catholics, even Irish, will vote Republican."

The above quotation from The Religious Issue Cuts Both Ways, would indicate that the Massachusetts majority for Governor Smith was due to other than religious reasons, probably to the Prohibition issue. This seems to bear out the belief of Patrick Henry Callahan, who believed that Prohibition was the real issue, rather than religion.

More crowd demonstration.

Borah at Baltimore pleads with the people to refrain from demonstration until he is through, because the radio costs money. He speaks of Prohibition. Much demonstration due to the opposition of the Democratic candidate to the issue.

The Republican parade was quiet and orderly. There were 15,000 in line. Some boohed or shouted for the rival candidates, as the procession passed, but there was no trouble, as was feared.

Women, in the campaign of 1928, were accused of being particularly emotional, and of being not any better citizens than the men.

Women in the Campaign.[1]

Of the 15,000,000 women voters in the campaign, too large a part of them "lost sight of all the real political issues adopted by their respective parties, and gave themselves up to an emotionalism witnessed only once before in recent American history--during the World War." This is the assertion of Anna Steese Richardson, who attributed much of the fear and prejucice that prevailed, to reactions of women who had had little experience in politics and, for that reason, were the more fanatical on the two subjects, religion and Prohibition.

She considers that it was the women who not only injected the religious issue into the campaign, "but raised it, with Prohibition, to a major position, completely ignoring the possible effect of such action upon their candidate." She charges the women with being swayed by personalities--trifles--in regard to personal peculiarities of Mrs. Hoover and Mrs. Smith, and with being guilty of ruthless remarks and actions, demonstrating the belief that the end justifies the means.

> "Political leaders, men of both parties, who urged, nay, implored women to cooperate in the campaign, were first dazed, then frankly dismayed by the force they had set in motion."

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[1] Richardson, Anna Steese. Women in the Campaign. Harper's. April, 1929

Evidence of intelligence among the women.

Certain groups, particularly the National League of Women Voters, showed possibilities of real leadership. They read intelligently and studied the issues---knew how the candidates stood on the questions of foreign relations, government control of utilities, farm relief, writes Mrs. Richardson. These issues were taken up by women's clubs who organized effective programs and distributed pamphlets. "Their efforts to stem the flood of emotionalism and personalities were gallant and often successful."

Mrs. Richardson considers that the election of 1928 showed that the women are no more politically minded than men---and no better citizens.

Some thoughts on "The Behavior of Crowds" are of the greatest significance in our study of the behavior of people in our Presidential campaigns. Our problem is psycnological; and upon understanding the cause of behavior, we may seek to remedy our actions.

The Behavior of Crowds.[1]

Mr. Martin speaks of the social problem of today.

> "The havit of crowd-making is daily becoming a more serious menace to civilization. It is not so much the pressure of certain economic questions as it is the psychological forces which threaten society." 1

Where we may find these psychological forces operating:

> "The best laboratory for the study of crowd-demonstration is the political party convention, mass meeting, or religious revival. The orators know the bunctional value of pathos, ridicule, and platitude in "getting the crowd."

What crowd enthusiasm really means: "The noisy demonstrations are not crowd enthusiasm, but endurance exhibitions---the general insincerity of the political life of this republic. The crowd is a device of indulging in a kind of temporary insanity by all going crazy together. The excitement over, the individual wonders what it was all about."

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[1] Martin, Everett Dean. The Behavior of Crowds. New York: Harper's. 1920 p. 19-23

In the reaction that follows--

> "The voter, after the political campaign, merely 'loses interest'.
>
> The striker returns to work and is absorbed in his daily task.
>
> The convert in the revival 'backslides'.
>
> The fiery patriot, after war, finds hatred of the enemy waning.
>
> Electors who have been swept by a wave for 'reform' and have voted for ill-considered legislation, easily lapse into indifference, and become unconcerned at the violation of their enactments.
>
> The world has a short memory; we 'got over' them, is the answer."

Some thoughts concerning

The Absolutism of the Crowd.

show us how little we may expect from the crowd when it is under intense emotional strain:

> "The crowd does not think in order to solve problems. To its mind there is no problem. It has closed its case beforehand. It believes only what it wants to believe. The average man cannot resist the appeal which crowd-thinking makes to the unconscious.
>
> "He thinks what he thinks others think he is thinking! He is so used to propaganda that he can hardly think of any matter in other terms.
>
> "Ruthlessness in a mob robs popular movements of their intelligent purposiveness, unleashes the fanatic and the bigot, and leads men to die and to kill for a phrase!

The educated also are ruled by the mob, says Mr. Martin:

> "Today the mob lurks just under the skin of most of us, both ignorant and educated alike! It is the ripening of thought processes, considered highly respectable and moral!"

"As the problem of the crowd is really concerned with things of the mind, the solution is a new educational method." We must each one do his own thinking, else be carried along with the crowd. Mr. Martin refers to Emerson's advice to think for ourselves:

> "We have ignored Emerson's warning that we must rely upon ourselves, and have allowed ourselves to behave and think as crowds; thinking more of the temporary triumph of our particular sect or party than the effect of our behavior on ourselves or others."

Mr. Martin is Lecturer in Social Philosophy and Director of the Cooper Union Forum of the People's Institute of New York.

Summary.

The general opinion is that it is impossible to judge with accuracy which of the three forces carried the most weight with each voter who bolted from his party, or voted with his party.

Emotion.

"Only an amateur would expect a campaign to be conducted through the intellect". This comment in the press is significant as it appeared right after the 1928 election.

As regards the religious feeling, experienced party leaders knew full well the boomerang effect of the introduction of that element. To the extent that people were unmovable on that subject, the "subconscious mind" was in control. Included with the religious feeling were petty personalities connected with the two candidates and with their wives.

Concerning Prohibition, the subject is too vital to allow any selfish, individual, violation-of-States'-rights' element to enter in. Thousands of earnest Americans had intense fear that the clock would be set back fordecades while the country would be experiencing the old misery of the drink evil of the pre-war days. Many others honestly thought different. Others still, stood for selfish indulgence regardless of the good of the nation. Altogether, millions "were swayed decisively by their emotions on Prohibition."[1]

The emotion centering around these forces---religion and prohibition--was certainly born of fear. Religious prejudice

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[1] Franklin, Fabian. Analyzing the Election Results. The Outlook. November, 1928

is to be regretted. But emotion caused by the danger of the repeal of the eighteenth amendment was worthy, and, let us hope with Mr. Fabian and Mr. Callahan, it "was the only issue that played any great part in the outcome of the election."

PART III.

CONCLUSION

"It is one of the most profound and important of exact psychological truths that man in the mass does not think but only feels."

Herbert Hoover

Conclusion.

If the success of popular government depends upon the general average capacity of the electorate, it is of the greatest importance whether, in the campaign of 1928, there was less exhibition of emotion and more of intelligence than in those campaigns of previous periods. If there is any weight to the opinion of many that "the campaign of 1928 was the hardest fought, the most exciting and altogether spectacular presidential election since the Civil War", it looks as though emotion prevailed.[1]

In an article following the election of 1928 William Bennett Munro expressed the opinion that intelligence is not advancing at all; that in fact quite the reverse has been taking place due to the quality of the electorate, which has been deteriorating for the last fifty years. He added, moreover, that the situation is made more complicated and serious due to the complexity of the political issues at the present time, and the fact that the majority of voters will not try to understand them anyhow.[2] Other writers---educators on every side contributed material criticising the intelligence of our population; giving warnings of the wrath to come---the downfall of the Democracy, unless the average intelligence of the nation is raised, and better public leaders throughout the nation are produced, recognized, elected, and supported.

Perhaps in spite of the cosmopolitan nature of our population, and the imperative need of civic intelligence and

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[1] Cook, Sherwin Lawrence. Torchlight Parade. New York: Minton, Balch and Co. 1929. p. 272

[2] Munro, William Bennett. Intelligence Tests for Voters. The Forum. December 1, 1928.

civic morality, we may, from a comparison of present methods of electing our presidents with those of the past, draw some hopeful deductions. Thomas Francis Moran, when he published "American Presidents" in 1917, believed that, though far from ideal, the methods of that time were a vast improvement over those of any other period in our history.[1] Especially since the beginning of the twentieth century have we seen the trend of public sentiment moving ever upward---increasingly demanding more intelligence in matters concerning the election of Presidents. Though there are deplorable exceptions we see the results, on the whole, in the following methods:

1. The kind of candidates nominated.
2. The attitude of the candidates toward each other.
3. The attitude of the press.
4. The attitude of party orators.
5. The attitude of the people, as the result, or along with, the other changing attitudes.

1. The Kind of Candidates Chosen.

The fitness of our Presidents who steered the nation through the early days of the Republic, cannot be questioned. After the days of Jackson and Van Buren, the presidents were mediocre; they owed their preferment to military fame, in the case of Harrison and Taylor; the others, up to the time of Lincoln, were chosen with little thought as to their fitness for the Presidency. Even during the Reconstruction Period,

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[1] Moran, Thomas Francis. American Presidents. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1917. p. 122

Civil War generals had the preference. In more recent nominations it has been realized that the people will not elect a President who has personal appeal only. With that knowledge in mind, the national party conventions do not nominate a candidate who has little to offer in statesmanship. We demand better presidential leaders today than we did when a war record alone was sufficient background. In recent there has been an increasing demand for "principles rather than men". It is very serious that the same cannot be said of other public leaders; for, as Mrs. Willebrandt points out in regard to Prohibition, the President's hands are tied unless he has cooperation of all public officials throughout the nation.

2. The Attitude of the Candidates Themselves Toward Each Other.

Public sentiment has demanded more generous attitude of candidates towards each other. Mr. Moran tells us that John Adams left Washington the night before the arrival of Thomas Jefferson rather than greet his successful rival. That could not happen now.

The election of 1824 has been called the "scrub race" for the presidency. There were seventeen candidates for the office. Four of them---Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Crawford, Clay---received votes in the electoral college. Mr. Jackson expressed his opinion of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay in terms more forcible than elegant. The issues were men rather than principles. Party lines here had vanished, in the interim between

Jefferson and Jackson; so a contest over individuals succeeded controversy over principles.

When Alton B. Parker attacked President Roosevelt in the campaign of 1904, his action was strongly censored by the best public men and by the press. A recent exception, of which we are not proud, was the bitterness that existed in 1912 between Roosevelt and Taft. After the dignified and generous attitude of the succeeding candidates, no one in the future would invite disaster by conducting a canvass in any manner other than mutual courtesy and respect. As far as the candidates themselves were concerned, in the campaign of 1928, the conduct of Mr. Hoover and Governor Smith was worthy of special mention.

3. The Attitude of the Press.

The attitude of the press is far better than in the early days; a great improvement over even a generation or two ago. In the days of the Republic it was a rabid party organ, most vindictive at times, as we see in the following comment in the Aurora, March 6, 1799---two days after Washington's retirement from office:

> ". . . If ever there was a time that would license the reiteration of the ejaculation, 'Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace,' that time has now arrived, for the man who is the source of all the misfortunes of our country is this day reduced to a level with his fellow citizens, and is no longer possessed of power to multiply evils upon the United States. If ever there was a period of rejoicing, this is the moment."

Mr. Moran remarks: "It is certainly true that the partisan press in a republic is without either gratitude or generosity."[1]

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[1] Moran, Thomas Francis. American Presidents. p. 124

If people objected to the tone of the press, we do not know. In 1880 and 1884 the Globe and Harper's Weekly were especially partisan and merciless in personalities in regard to the opposing candidates, and it seemed to be an accepted condition of affairs. The Globe spoke of General Garfield as 1 "liar" and a man whose "rottenness of character" was proved. Harper's published most unkind personal remarks and cartoons against General Hancock in 1880, and against James G. Blaine in 1884. In 1904 when the Hearst publications attacked the personal honor of President Roosevelt and Mr. Cortelyou, they were severely criticised. Hearst's publications were regarded, in large measure, as propaganda and personal spite; and the result was undoubtedly a boomerang for the Republican administration. This proved that the public was demanding a different code of ethics.

In 1917 Mr. Moran writes:

> "The rabid party organ is disappearing, and the tendency is for the really great and influential dailies of the country to become independent in politics. From the standpoint of truth and fair-dealing in political discussion the journalism of today still leaves much to be desired; and yet it marks a distinct advance over the journalism of a generation ago." 1

While the press of 1928 could not refrain from showing its party preference, it rose in indignant protest against personal or unfair attacks.

3. The Attitude of Campaign Orators and Other Public Men.

The attitude of the campaign orators has been in keeping with the tone of the press. During the so-called "era of good feeling", between the Jefferson and Jackson administrations, the most effective and influential speaker was John Randolph.

1 Moran, Thomas Francis. American Presidents. p. 143

He was a man of real genius; and sarcastic, bold statements characterized his utterances. In k826 he referred to John Quincy Adams and his Secretary of State, Henry Clay, as the "combination of the Puritan with the blackleg." He took Mr. Clay's ancestors to task for bringing into the world "this being, so brilliant yet so corrupt, which, like rotten mackerel by moonlight, shined and stunk."

President Adams retorted by applying to Randolph the lines of Ovid in which the poet draws a picture of Envy:

> "His face is lived, gaunt his whole body;
> His breast is green with gall; his tongue
> drips poison." 1

About 1840 the most effective campaign orator was Thomas Corwin. He know how to handle popular and promiscuous assemblies. Of the appeal of "Tom" Corwin Mr. Moran says:

> "It was worth a Sabbath day's journey to hear 'Tom' Corwin tell a story. . . Plain farmers would not only travel long distances to hear him, but they would stand for hours under a burning sun or in a pelting rain, seemingly oblivious of everything but the speeches by which their attention was absorbed." 2

It was the orator's power of entertaining that appealed to his audiences; else they would not have listened to him.

Mr. Moran writes of the treatment dealt Abraham Lincoln:

> "We usually place Lincoln next to Washington in our national thinking. But he did not escape the despicable campaign methods of his time. He was abused in a coarse, brutal, and personal way. He was deserted by many in his hour of need who should have been his friends." 3

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1 Moran, Thomas Francis. American Presidents. p. 135

2 Moran p. 139

3 Moran p. 125

In 1864 Wendell Phillips denounced Lincoln's administration as "a civil and military failure." During the campaign of 1860 he had been still more abusive, referring to Lincoln with such remarks as : 'Who is this huckster in politics?' 'Who is this county court advocate?' Phillips published an article entitled 'Abraham Lincoln, the Slave Hound of Illinois', the first sentence of which ran as follows:

> "We gibbet a Northern Hound today, side by side with the infamous Mason of Virginia."

Lincoln's personal appearance was ridiculed in the papers of the day. They said he was "stupid, vulgar, and repulsive. He was the ape, the gorilla, and by some it was said that African blood flowed in his veins."

> "We are inclined", remarks Mr. Moran, "to think of Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson, Hanilton, John Adams, and John Quincy Adams as six of the greatest men in the history of the public life of the United States; but according to testimony and contemporary partisan press, and of opposition campaign orators, we must consider them the greatest villians of their time."

In comparing such methods with those of 1917 Mr. Moran adds:

> "I do not mean to say that statements equally extreme and vituperative are not now sometimes made in the heat of a political campaign; but I am confident that they are neither so frequent nor so typical as they once were." [1]

Public sentiment has been moving steadily away from sympathy with personalities in a Presidential campaign. Not only are vituperative statements less frequent, but also they are much less effective, as dearly bought experience has repeatedly proved.

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[1] Moran, Thomas Francis. p. 128

5. Changing Attitude of the People.

Mr. Moran believes that the "people of today must be reached largely through the intellect than through the emotions. They are not so easily deceived." He continues:

> "They have outlived, to a certain extent, their gregarious impulses and are not so easily herded or stampeded as they were a few generations ago. In fact, abuse, personalities, and bombast are likely to have a boomerang effect." 1

We note the boomerang at work in the Whig campaign of 1840. The eastern paper that spoke contemptuously of the Whig candidate, General Harrison, made a political blunder. Its advice that he go back to his log-cabin and drink his hard cider in an environment of coon skins, acted as a boomerang. The campaign became a "popular frolic".

We saw the boomerang effect again in 1880, when the Democrats published the forged "Morey letter" on the eve of the election. In the Blaine campaign, the result of the "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" speech was disastrous. In 1917 Mr. Moran read the handwriting on the wall when he said:

> "As soon as thefact is fully appreciated by our political leaders that these methods are really not effective, they will disappear."

Judge Parker's criticism of Roosevelt was a boomerang for the opposition. The small "religious war" that existed in the Democratic convention of 1924 was heard via radio by thousands. It ruined the campaign for that party.

In 1928 there was strenuous effort to keep the religious

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1 Moran. p. 128

question out of the campaign.

Quoting Mr. Moran in further support of the assertion that people today must be reached more largely through the intellect than through the emotions:

> "The 'hurrah element' so prominent in the campaigns of a generation or two ago now serves, when it appears, only to provoke mirth and laughter."

He refers to the campaign of 1840 as one which "for sheer froth and nonsense is without a parallel in our history. He quotes Carl Schurz' characterization:

> "There has probably never been a presidential campaign of more enthusiasm and less thought than the Whig campaign of 1840. There were no end of mass meetings; processions with brass bands; huge picnics and doggerel singing about 'Tippecanoe and Tyler Too'.
>
> "Such speakers as Clay, Webster, Corwin, Ewing, Clayton, Choate,---an imposing array on the Whig side, had no success in diverting people's minds towards serious matters.
>
> "The immense multitudes gathered there to be amused, not to be instructed. They met, not to think and deliberate, but to laugh and shout and sing." 1

Again, people are not so susceptible to trifles now as formerly. Non-essentials---slogans, songs, signs, have very little effect.

> "Torchlights, log-cabins, coon skins, hard cider, umbrellas, canes, bandannas, high hats, fence rails, watermelons, dinner pails and blue jeans are no longer deciding factors in American political campaigns. Neither are the people likely to be carried away by catch-words, such as 'Tippecanoe and Tyler too'; 'Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion'; '54-40 or fight'; and 'The Full Dinner Pail'.

In 1888, when the grandson of William Henry Harrison was a candidate for the presidency, there was an attempt to arouse some of the old campaign enthusiasm of 1840 by

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1 Moran. p. 135

introducing some of the songs and insignia of the Hard Cider days. But there was a marked change in public sentiment even then; the plan "did not take".

"Principles rather than men."

From the campaign of 1916 we learned that unless there is put forth a definite and constructive program, a party cannot succeed, no matter how worthy or able its candidate. This is further evidence that people require principles rather than personalities.

In the re-election of President Coolidge, in 1924, we congratulated ourselves as a nation that it was a response to a wide-felt appreciation of character---that the people were capable of recognizing good leadership and electing it.

Then there was the exciting campaign of 1928 with its deluge of criticism by public men and the press, labelling the campaign as one completely controlled by emotion to the exclusion of all intelligence. Educators warned us of the menace to our Democracy, unless we raised the average intelligence of our population. Social Psychologists came to the front. Everywhere was preached the necessity of increased and better training for the right kind of citizenship.

Some blamed the women for most of the emotional display, on the grounds, partly, that they are, as a sex, more susceptible to emotion than to intelligence; also, as lacking in political experience, they were the tools of party managers.

1928

In defence we may say that the psychological forces--Prohibition and the religious issue, were new elements. The country remembered the disastrous effects of the introduction of the religious element in the Blaine campaign, and had profited by that experience. The press and the best leaders strongly censored bigotry and were very insistent on leaving that question out of the situation. We may feel hopeful in that there was a sincere attempt to lift the "taboo" from the discussion of religious differences; for as different sects understand one another, mutual respect and sympathy must result.

In regard to Prohibition, may we not consider that perhaps much of the emotion caused by that problem might be worthy? From my experience as a teacher in a school but one block removed from four saloons, I must admit that I sympathized with the emotion in favor of Prohibition.

Regrettable as the emotional exhibition of "1928" was, in the nomination of two such candidates as Mr. Hoover and Governor Smith, in the dignity of the campaign they conducted, in the evidence of public opinion toward the situation, we may feel encouraged; for the public trend will continue to be upward toward intelligent choice of leaders and of issues.

"As the problem of the crowd is really concerned with things of the mind, the solution is a new educational method."[1] We may hold that our Southern European immigrants need to be elevated to higher American ideals. As Americans, we must set an example, an ideal of far greater self-control, in

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[1] Martin, Everett Dean. The Behavior of Crowds. p. 19 New York: Harper's. 1920

individual and crowd behavior. We must analyze ourselves to find wherein we are lacking in our own behavior attitudes--our susceptibility to propaganda based on prejudice, whether social, racial, or religious. When we have taken an inventory of our own shortcomings, and have come into a realization of our national needs, we are in a position to undertake the elimination of all past procedures that may threaten the survival of the Democracy.

In carrying out the educational methods, every educational agency must be employed that will help develop social intelligence. We may give intelligence tests for voters, raise the restriction of college entrance examinations and thus allow social intelligence to have its opportunity for development as well as abstract intelligence; offer a new degree, Bachelor of Citizenship; use the possibilities of the radio. Especially must we start at the beginning of the school career of the youth and continue throughout the school attendance a systematic plan to develop civic and moral intelligence. This plan shall have constantly in mind the training of the emotions; for if we must have our emotions, we had better direct them into right expressions, that good conduct may automatically result in our social and political life.

We will doubtless continue to associate with the campaign of 1928 emotion rather than intelligence. But as we have learned better procedure from previous campaigns, so may we be hopeful concerning the future. We have analyzed the nation's needs and recognized the remedy necessary to overcome them. We may,

therefore, believe, as public sentiment grows in favor of more and more intelligent conduct, that we shall realize ever-increasing improvement in the display of intelligence.

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